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Foreign Aid 'Sleeper' Destroys U.S. Control

From the Allen-Scott Report

The Senate and House Foreign Affairs Committees already have sharply modified President Johnson's $3.38-billion foreign aid authorization bill, but it still remains to be seen what, if anything, they do about an exceptional "sleeper."

Under this little-known provision, an unspecified amount of economic aid funds could be turned over to international organizations to spend on development programs they devise for Southeast Asia.

While the United States has representation on these organizations and provides most of their money, it does not control them.

Thus, in effect, the far-reaching "sleeper" amounts to an open-end authorization under which hundreds of millions of dollars could be channeled into international organizations on which the United States does not have the deciding voice. With money supplied by the United States, these foreign-dominated organizations would determine how and where it is to be spent.

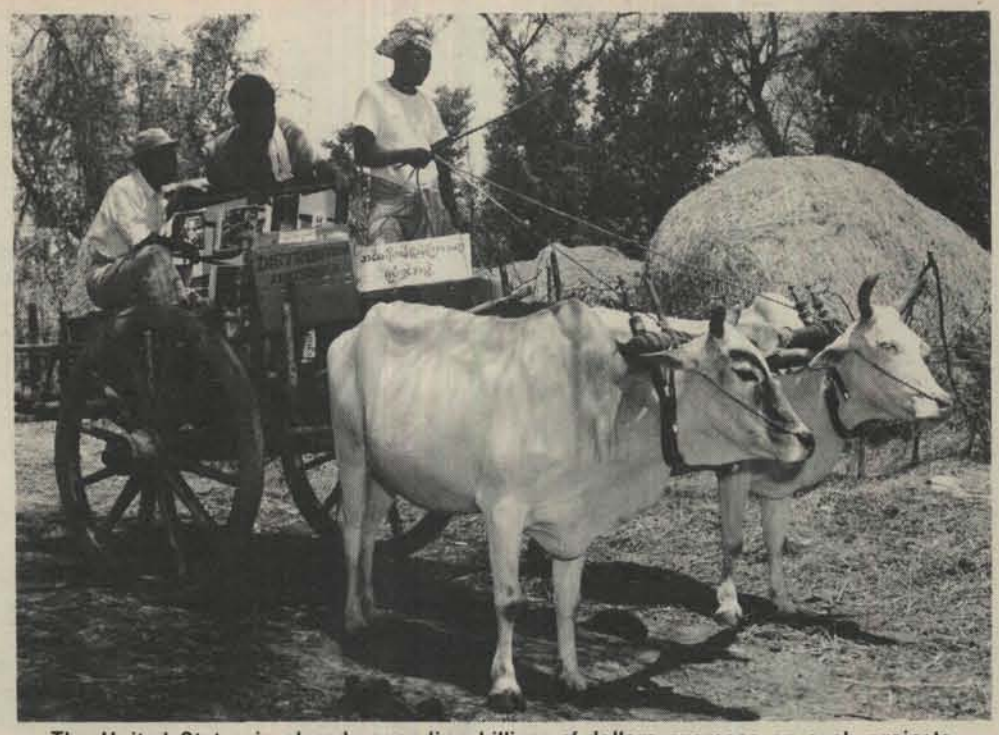
Significantly indicative of the sweeping nature of this "blank check" proposal are the following:

- There is no ceiling on the amount of funds that could be allocated for Southeast Asian development.
- No limit is placed on the amount of money that could be made available to any particular international agency.

This extraordinary proposal is in Title VIII, Section 271(b), of the foreign aid authorization bill, as follows:

"The President is authorized to furnish assistance, on such terms and conditions as he may determine, in order to promote social and economic development and stability in Southeast Asia through multilateral institutions and programs and projects serving regional development purposes. Such institutions, programs and projects may include but are not limited to special funds of the Asian Development Bank, consortia organized for particular programs and projects and regional arrangements such as the Mekong development program."

The immediate effect of this language would be to wipe out four major conditions Congress has attached in recent years to foreign aid spending, as follows:



The United States is already spending billions of dollars overseas on such projects as this USIA mobile oxcart team in Burma. Even more money can be poured into Southeast Asia through international agencies funded by American taxpayers.

- Countries that seize U.S. property without just compensation cannot be granted economic aid.
- Nations selling military or strategic supplies to Communist-ruled Cuba are barred from U.S. aid.
- Aid beneficiaries must purchase goods in the United States with the aid dollars they get from the United States.
- U.S. ships have preference in transporting aid-financed cargoes.

International organizations would not be bound by these requirements. The record is clear on that.

A graphic illustration was the action of the United Nations Special Fund, which gets 40 per cent of its money from the United States. Despite vigorous State Department protest, the UNSF granted $2,096,500 to Havana University to train electronics and radar specialists.

Rep. Otto Passman (D.-La.), chairman of the House Appropriations subcommittee in charge of the foreign aid budget, is aware of this "sleeper" and is bent on blocking it. If it is approved in the authorization bill, he will do his utmost to scuttle it in the appropriation measure.

"This proposal is an attempt by the Johnson Administration," says Passman, long-time foe of large-scale foreign aid spending, "to wrest control of foreign aid from Congress and the people by channeling it into international organizations. When our aid money becomes intermingled with the fractional amounts contributed by other countries, the result is that the aid goes to their former colonies with which they still have strong and favorable trade ties.

"In recent years, our foreign aid has done much to proliferate the number of international organizations, agencies and so-called development banks. Their activities and operations are hidden from American taxpayers, and it is high time Congress put a stop to such dissipation of our resources."

Another critic is Rep. Clement Zablocki (D.-Wis.), chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Far Eastern subcommittee. Normally an Administration supporter, he bluntly charges the proposal is a concession to Sen. J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.), chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and a caustic critic of Administration policies in Viet Nam, the Dominican Republic and Red China.

Rep. Otto Passman (D.-La.), chairman of the House appropriations subcommittee on foreign aid, opposes the Administration's proposal to funnel hundreds of millions of dollars through international agencies.

"The foreign aid bill is loaded with provisions designed to placate Fulbright on Viet Nam and other issues," declared Zablocki. "To appease Fulbright, the Administration divided the foreign aid measure into two separate bills, one for economic assistance and the other for military aid; also extended the authorization period from one to five years.

"But the biggest concession is this little-known proposal to hand over an unspecified amount of economic aid funds to international organizations. I have pronounced misgivings about that and am drafting an amendment on the matter."

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● Adam Yarmolinsky, a top Pentagon official, is reported to have been instrumental in developing the speech of Defense Secretary Robert McNamara's which suggested all Americans should serve in the federal government for at least two years. When Congress starts to revise the draft, it is said, the Administration will try to slip in some provision permitting Americans to work for such agencies like the Poverty Corps as an alternative to military service.

● The Indian government is now seriously thinking of nationalizing M. N. Dastur & Co., of Calcutta, India's largest privately owned consulting engineer firm. Reason? The Soviet government suggested it be nationalized if the firm wanted to stay on as engineering management consultants to the proposed Soviet-financed Bokaro steel mill.

● Sargent Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity is shocked to learn that local school officials in certain Northern cities are trying to keep poor white children out of Project Headstart programs, according to the Baltimore **Sun**. Samuel F. Yette, a special assistant to Shriver, said that a number of Northern school boards have designed Headstart programs "to exclude poor white children."

● American aid to Communist Poland (almost $1 billion thus far) is justified by Administration spokesmen on the grounds that it has enabled the Polish regime to relax its grip on the people. Last week Polish authorities demonstrated just how much they have mellowed. Club-swinging police broke up a demonstration celebrating the 1,000th anniversary of Polish Christendom. They held for several hours three foreign correspondents who had witnessed the demonstration. Gene Kramer, Warsaw correspondent for the Associated Press, was held for five hours and released only after his film had been confiscated.

● The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King has called for the expenditure of $100 billion over a ten-year period to fight poverty. Leon Keyserling, a former chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, demanded an even larger appropriation—$13 billion a year—to finance the anti-poverty drive. He called for an increase in total federal spending from $112.8 billion in 1967 to $155 billion in 1975.

● Rep. Craig Hosmer (R.-Calif.) has called for President Johnson to "give the patriots a chance" with a July 4 parade and appropriate ceremonies to counter recent peacenik demonstrations. The GOP lawmaker said: "I believe the President . . . should himself proclaim this parade so that civic groups, both local and national, the armed services and others dedicated to our country and its ideas can get busy organizing it." He said the event "should be a good, old-fashioned American traditional observance of the 4th—with bands, marching units, patriotic displays and patriotic speeches." So far, no reply from the White House.

● Defense Secretary McNamara claims there is "no clear need" for a newer, faster bomber, notes the Republican Congressional Committee newsletter. "He's going to wait until the need becomes clear—at which time we'll have 15 minutes to develop one."

● Government officials say the demand for hospital care will go up about 5 per cent once Medicare begins operating on July 1. But Dr. Edward Henderson, executive director of the American Geriatrics Society, says he has "no idea" where the government gets these figures. The more likely figure, he insists, is "50 per cent or more." (For a revealing article on the state of socialized medicine in Great Britain, see page 8.)

● Bobby Kennedy's man in Wisconsin, Democratic National Committeeman David Carley, is campaigning for governor of the Badger State on a "get-out-of-Viet Nam" platform. Carley hopes to best Lt. Gov. Patrick J. Lucey, an Administration supporter, in the primary. Claiming his position is no different from that of Senators Robert Kennedy (D.-N. Y.) or Gaylord Nelson (D.-Wis.), Carley has said: "I don't think we have to fight a continuing war in Viet Nam in order to secure or in order to honor our traditions." He has also called for direct negotiations with the National Liberation Front and Red China in order to arrange free elections and the withdrawal of all foreign troops.

● FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover warns that Red Chinese agents are buying great quantities of unclassified American technical information. Writing in this month's **Nation's Business** magazine, Hoover says that through these purchases China has "saved incalculable time and resources to overcome the camp of freedom." Since 1949, he states, China "has poured tens of thousands of dollars into the American economy through purchases of non-classified publications of myriad types and descriptions." Hoover also charges that the Chinese are using their embassy in Havana to launch "an intensive campaign of treachery and subversion throughout other parts of the Americas."

● LBJ may have bigger things in store for Robert S. McNamara than his present position as defense secretary. Some politicos are guessing McNamara's speech in Canada recently may be the first of several moves by the Administration to groom McNamara for a possible spot on the national Democratic ticket in 1968 or 1972.

● Sen. Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.) has urged the Administration to launch a massive drive to win Communist China's friendship. He advocates recognition of the Peking regime, her admittance to the United Nations and Sino-American trade. His proposals have been endorsed by a number of prominent Democrats, including Sen. Stephen Young (D.-Ohio).

● The authoritative South Dakota poll reports that two-thirds of the state's farmers believe the Johnson Administration is doing a poor job for agriculture. A frequently heard remark, according to the survey: "In regard to the Administration's handling of the farm situation, it is impossible for it to be much worse."

● Rep. Richard Roudebush (R.-Ind.) has discovered that the Administration is spending $12,700 to finance a University of Texas study of "Bird Life in Texas" and $29,000 for an Oklahoma State University project on the social behavior of fish. He suggests a more worthwhile study—the care and rehabilitation of the beleagured taxpayer.

● Charles Green, an imaginary but typical American—married, the father of two, earning $10,000 a year—lost an estimated $268 because of inflation in the 12 months ending March 1966, according to the Tax Foundation, Inc. His brother Joe, newly married and earning $7,500, lost an estimated $201 in the same period.

● Recognition of Communist China would solve no current problems while "almost certainly creating new ones," the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on the Far East unanimously reported. Committee members said that Peking was isolated by her own choice rather than by U. S. policy.

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The Trials of Otepka

Catching lawmakers unawares, the State Department last week made a surprise move to shield from public view vital portions of the final volume of secret evidence taken by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee in the now famous Otepka case. Otepka, a member of the civil service, was fired after he had revealed to members of Congress loose security practices in the department. He is still waiting a department hearing.

OTEPKA

Nine members of the subcommittee, it was learned, received letters from Under Secretary of State George W. Ball protesting the proposed release of documents and testimony disclosing details which would embarrass the State Department. Ball, it is noted, has been a key anti-Otepka man in the department, once having prepared for Otepka's enemies testimony which senators flatly claimed was untruthful.

Using extraordinary procedures, Ball marked each letter "secret," provoking the wrath of many senators who could see no reason why communications between a government department and a Senate subcommittee had to be classified, especially since the letters revealed no details of the documents sought to be suppressed.

One senator, Roman Hruska (R.-Neb.), was known to have refused to accept the letter under the ground rules laid down by Ball. The Chicago *Tribune's* Willard Edwards, who broke the story, reported:

"Another [senator] remarked that he had never noted a more serious distortion of the much-abused practice of applying the 'secret' stamp to government papers. The only excuse for the secret label in this instance, it was noted, was to cover up the State Department's attempt to suppress evidence."

Ball asked for deletions in several places, insisting that revelation of certain documents might even affect U.S. relations with foreign countries. The material, however, had been cleared by subcommittee members, who felt it was vital for a complete understanding of the Otepka matter.

One portion that Ball reportedly wants deleted relates directly to the matter of whether Otepka's superiors were lying when they denied receiving any communication from Otepka in regard to the formation of a committee in the State Department. Otepka, it is said, had written his superiors that some of the members selected for this committee had questionable backgrounds that should be checked out. Otepka's superiors denied having seen any information from Otepka on the matter. Otepka then presented evidence to the subcommittee demonstrating he did in fact send the material his superiors denied receiving.

Now, reportedly, Ball doesn't want to release to the public the evidence that would uphold Otepka's side of the affair. This is not the first time, however, that the department has sought to suppress the Otepka hearings.

As reporter Edwards relates: "The State Department fought for two years against release of the hearings. As the volumes were released periodically, in the last 10 months, the reasons for its opposition became apparent. A tale of intrigue was disclosed and a pattern of procedures which seemed designed to operate to the benefit of security risks."

• The State Department continues to malign Otepka in material it sends out to the public. The department still maintains that Otepka is being charged with violating a criminal statute for supposedly mutilating documents. The Justice Department, however, dropped the matter last year when it found no evidence to support any such accusation.

GOP Girds for Poverty Fight

House Republicans, girding for a floor fight on the multi-billion-dollar anti-poverty program, say they're bound to be aided by the recent release of the GOP report on poverty and the disclosure of new HARYOU-ACT scandals in New York. Led by poverty program watchdogs Albert Quie (R.-Minn.) and Charles Goodell (R.-N.Y.), the House GOP hopes to add to the Administration bill a number of corrective amendments summarily voted down in a straight party-line test in Adam Clayton Powell's (D.-N.Y.) Education and Labor Committee.

Among the amendments the GOP will battle for: the establishment of careful procedures for evaluating poverty program employes and a limitation on salaries.

While the Democrats have been opposed to amendments, pressures for eliminating abuses in the program intensified last week in the wake of the 100-page Republican report on poverty scandals and the Associated Press's unearthing of a hitherto secret report on an investigation into HARYOU-ACT—the poverty program pouring millions of dollars into Rep. Powell's New York City district.

The Republican report was, in essence, a collection of some of the worst poverty scandals to date,

THIS WEEK'S NEWS

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INSIDE WASHINGTON

most of which have been reported in *Human Events*. But the AP story, based on a secret report of an investigation team headed by former New York Judge Samuel Pierce Jr., was a brand-new expose.

Much of the investigation (ordered by HARYOU, itself) centered around HARYOU's Black Arts theater, which, after being rejected twice, mysteriously tapped federal anti-poverty funds for at least $115,000 to spend on "hate-white" plays written in gutter language. Previously, it had been reported that only $40,000 of federal funds had been channelled into Black Arts, formerly headed by playwright LeRoi Jones, a Negro racist.

"Records show," said the Pierce committee, "that the Black Arts theater was turned down for funding as part of the [summer] crash program and that OEO had also refused to grant it funds. Had the board of directors been keen and observant, Black Arts could not have entered PUL [Project Uplift, the summer program] in the circuitous manner in which it did."

The Black Arts theater, said the report, was made to appear to be operating as day camps. "Black Arts," the Pierce report continued, "was also supplied with typewriters, calculating machines and other

Harlem—home of HARYOU-ACT and Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N. Y.)

office equipment which to date have not been accounted for. . . .

"Black Arts was also given a 'revolving petty cash fund' of $100. There were no limits as to how often this 'fund' could be replenished. . . .

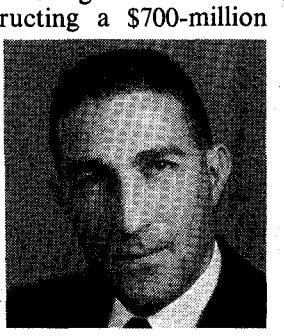
"We discovered that some 55 vehicles . . . pleasure sedans, station wagons, trailer trucks, etc., had been rented to the Black Arts theater. We could not pinpoint who justified the need for, or authorized the use of those vehicles." The Pierce report also said that tax dollars were used to fund imposter "ministers" with fake "churches." These are just some of the scandals which should make it difficult for the Democrats to resist Republican amendments to the poverty program when it comes to the House floor.

• Republicans are still talking about another secret report which Adam Clayton Powell won't release. This 30-page document, drawn up by investigators of the poverty program for Powell's committee, has been suppressed for several months, with minority staff members who worked on the report being unable to see it.

• HARYOU-ACT has restored Powell's former administrative assistant, Livingston Wingate, to his full duties as executive director to reconstruct the agency's tangled finances. Wingate had taken a five-month leave of absence while HARYOU was under fire. Barely after he returned, he had to face charges of the Pierce report and allegations from high city sources that the agency owes $290,000 in federal taxes withheld by the agency last year from staff salaries.

The Public Power Lobby

The federal government has once again blocked the Duke Power Co. from constructing a $700-million electric power complex in South Carolina. In an effort to play up to the public power lobby, say some politicos, both the Federal Power Commission and Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall have laid down a barrage of obstacles to prevent Duke from getting the go-head which it needs from the FPC. Duke's application for a license has been languishing before the FPC for over 18 months.



UDALL

Nearly a year ago (July 31) *Human Events* revealed the story of how Secretary Udall filed a petition to prevent Duke from building a power complex which would be located on the Keowee and Toxaway Rivers in Oconee and Pickens Counties in South Carolina. Udall tried to stop it even though the project would directly increase employment in the area by several hundred-fold, pay $20 million in state and local taxes and put $24 million in the federal treasury.

Profits, moreover, would go into the charitable Duke Endowment (which owns 50 per cent of Duke Power), a fund which has lavished gifts on hospitals, churches and schools, including Duke and Furman Universities.

Under rising pressures from the country and indignant South Carolina lawmakers, Udall finally withdrew his opposition last summer, but since that time one roadblock after another has been placed in Duke's way.

The FPC could grant the license to Duke without a hearing, but it has decided a hearing is in order because of complaints from some Rural Electrification Administration groups in North Carolina and Georgia. But now that the FPC has called for hearings, it continues curiously to postpone them.

In January of this year, Udall—after having withdrawn any objections to the project—requested the FPC to postpone any hearings for 90 days so he could study the project in more detail. The commissioners readily granted the delay. When the 90-day period was up, Udall was forced to find it acceptable, and hearings were scheduled to begin.

But in May the FPC postponed the hearings until July 12 after the North Carolina and Georgia REA groups made additional complaints about matters that have long been considered resolved. Now these groups are asking the FPC to postpone any hearings until August.

In short, Udall, as well as the FPC and the REA appear to be trying to stall the Duke project to death. Meanwhile, this area of Appalachia is deprived of a boost in its economy.

Why is the public power lobby fighting Duke so vigorously? Many believe the Socialist power advocates realize it will be difficult to squelch the Duke project forever, but they're hoping, at least, to make a bargain with lawmakers who desire the Duke project but have long opposed granting the federal government the authority to develop Trotters Shoals on

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the Savannah River. Development of this area has long been the big dream of the Socialists.

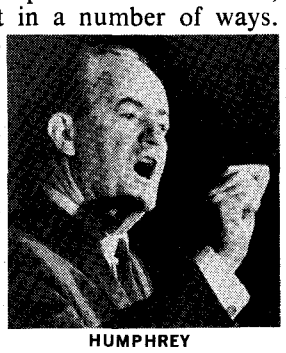
As Rep. William Jennings Bryan Dorn (D.-S. C.) has noted: "Trotters Shoals will complete government control of the Savannah River from Augusta to the mountains. If the secretary of the interior can control the Savannah and make connections with other government power projects, then he can control water, power, industry and people. The Southeast would be at the mercy of a federal bureaucracy and a stark federal monopoly. . . . The real goal is socialism."

Some old hands in the private power industry predict continued government harassment of Duke and other private power companies until Congress comes across with Trotters Shoals. It will be interesting to see if this turns out to be the case.

Conclave Fosters Militants

The White House Conference on Civil Rights, held last week in the Sheraton Park Hotel in Washington, failed to pass a very necessary resolution: a statement indicating a desire by civil rights groups to curb the firebrands. The conference "consensus" called for Home Rule in Washington, a multi-billion-dollar program to aid the Negro and other federal legislation to deal with civil rights. But there was no general call to curb violence.

Indeed, the conference, in spite of the headlines, catered to militant sentiment in a number of ways. Vice President Hubert Humphrey pitched his speech to the "red hots" when he took up their battle cry: "Freedom Now." " 'Freedom Now,' " the vice president told the delegates, "is not a catchword for a minority of Americans—it is a moral imperative for all Americans." While denouncing irresponsible civil rights leaders, Humphrey nevertheless insisted Americans can't be content with the "status quo." Solicitor General Thurgood Marshall told the delegates it was the business of the federal government to "legislate equality."



HUMPHREY

NAACP leader Roy Wilkins, normally a moderate, almost invited violence if the Congress fails to pass LBJ's fair housing proposal.

"If this legislation is not passed by Congress before it adjourns this summer," said Wilkins, "then we feel that the country will be in the midst of, not on the brink of, a crisis."

Many observers, however, felt any crisis could be more easily avoided if the delegates had resoundingly condemned those groups which have been provoking demonstrations and street riots around the country.

Even while the delegates to the convention spoke, police officials in the Washington area were saying privately that violence could sweep the Nation's Capital this summer as a result of militant groups in the D.C. area. The gun-toting Deacons of Defense, for example, have now made their home in Washington.

Julius Hobson, who boycotted the Sheraton Park conference because it was too mild, last week was conferring with Jesse Gray, the militant civil rights firebrand from New York who has suggested using guerrilla warfare against local governments. Gray, who has taken the 5th Amendment in regard to

President Johnson greets Thurgood Marshall

charges that he once belonged to the Communist party, brought down a busload of 49 persons from New York last week to work with Hobson in boycotting the conference.

Hobson recently stated that nothing was too bad for the merchants who oppose Home Rule, "even if it means burning their stores." Last week he was quoted as saying "violence is the order of the day."

But as far as could be ascertained, few delegates at the White House conference thought it necessary to oppose the militants in any vigorous way.

• One moderate at the civil rights conference: Dr. J.H. Jackson, religious leader of more than six million Negroes. The head of the National Baptist Convention, Dr. Jackson said civil disobedience inevitably leads to crime, which defeats the very purpose of the struggle for equality.

• The Congress of Racial Equality, headed by Floyd McKissick, failed to get the White House Conference on Civil Rights to adopt a resolution which called for American withdrawal from Viet Nam.

• Pennsylvania GOP Gov. William W. Scranton announced last week he would never again seek an elective office. Observers suspect, however, that the Scranton "withdrawal" could be part of a ploy to clear the decks for GOP "moderates" to rally around Gov. George Romney as the 1968 Republican presidential nominee. *(For more on Romney see page 10).*

Hart's Bill Harms Consumer

Sen. Philip Hart's (D.-Mich.) so-called "Truth in Packaging" bill has emerged from the Commerce Committee in a less odious form than originally introduced, but Senate Republicans are still concerned about a number of provisions, particularly subsections 5(d), (e), (f) and (g)—sections designed to block what Hart likes to call the "excessive" variety of supermarket packages. Republicans tried to strike them from the bill in committee, but failed. They'll try again on the Senate floor this week.

HART

In a minority report, the Republicans remark that these sections will provide the government with "far-reaching federal powers to prescribe by regulation the sizes and weights in which consumer products can be produced and packaged.

"These unique powers can be invoked against the law-abiding, conscientious producer whenever a government agency determines that a product is being distributed in such different sizes that they 'are likely to impair the ability of consumers to make price-per-unit comparisons.' "

Suppose, say the Republicans, Company A produces potato chips. It is a good product, reasonably priced and honestly and fairly marketed. Its big seller is a 12-ounce package, a size chosen after unhappy experiences with other sizes, and on the basis of extensive market research. The package has a good market and loyal customers.

But the Food and Drug Administration, intent on rescuing the American housewife from a supposed sea of confusion, "determines" under section 5 (d) that potato chips are being marketed by all producers in so many different sizes that they "are likely to impair the ability of consumers to make price per unit comparisons." The agency could then put into effect a regulation requiring potato chips to be packaged in 4-, 8-, 16- and 24-ounce sizes—and no others. The 12-ounce package would thus be banned.

"The consumer who preferred the 12-ounce package of potato chips—because it contained the right amount or because the package fit conveniently on her kitchen shelf, or for whatever rational or irrational reason—is out in the cold. She must," say the Republicans, "forgo her desires. She must accept the size her government thinks is best."

Such is the nature of Hart's bill for pouring citizens into a special federal mold.

• Sen. Norris Cotton (R.-N.H.), who supports some clear labeling provisions he introduced into the Hart bill, but vigorously opposes the sections mentioned above, points out there are plenty of laws already on the books to guard against deception in food packaging. The Federal Trade Commission and the Food and Drug Administration, says Cotton, have ample authority to proceed against "any practice either in advertising, packaging or labeling. . . . All 50 of our states have acts which outlaw the mislabeling and misbranding of foods and cosmetics."

Rickover Lashes McNamara

Much of the press hasn't yet picked it up, but Pentagon observers are somewhat pop-eyed at the blunt criticisms Adm. Hyman Rickover made of Defense Secretary Robert McNamara before Congress recently.

Appearing not too long ago before the House Armed Services Committee, the father of the nuclear submarine sharply attacked the "cost-effectiveness people"—i.e., McNamara and his "Whiz-Kids"—for hiding behind a "facade of 'scientific' analysis." In actual fact, snapped the admiral, they are just as reluctant to change preconceived opinions as they say the military is.

"It is difficult for intellectuals," said Rickover, "when placed in positions of authority, to refrain from exercising power. Often theoretical people are being called upon to act as specialists, to make recommendations beyond their limited expertise. They tend to rely on their book knowledge in fields where technical competence, judgment, experience, wisdom and intuition are also necessary."

Even physicists, said Rickover, "have been reluctant to accept new ideas. On a cost-effectiveness basis the colonists should not have revolted against King George III, nor should John Paul Jones have engaged the *Serapis* with an inferior ship, the *Bon Homme Richard.*"

Claiming that the cost-effectiveness people had been proved dead-wrong by coming out against a nuclear Navy, Rickover remarked: "The primacy of politics should not again be subordinated to the doctrinaire and unproven claims of specialists—particularly when these specialists are in a position of overall authority and do not encourage or permit contrary views to be voiced or to be asserted."

Some people are now wondering if McNamara will move to torpedo Rickover out of the Navy.

Bosch Loses

The surprise victory of the more moderate Joaquin Balaguer over leftist Juan Bosch in last week's Dominican elections was a stunning blow to American liberals, many of whom openly supported Bosch.

As reported here last week, the National Student Association and the "Committee on Free Elections in the Dominican Republic" both took a pro-Bosch stance during the election campaign. Nonetheless, Balaguer won in a landslide, even carrying Bosch strongholds and apparently made heavy inroads into the labor vote, thought to be firmly in Bosch's pocket.

The defeat of Bosch was a slap at some elements in the U.S. State Department who have supported him while closing their eyes to Bosch's pro-Communist inclinations. In fact, the Castroite 14th of June Movement and both Dominican Communist parties (one oriented to Peking, the other to Moscow) pledged their support to Bosch. This Red support apparently swung many votes to Balaguer.

In addition, Bosch's vitriolic anti-Americanism, his refusal to campaign in person for fear of assassination and his last-minute appeal to his supporters to "carry sticks and stones" to the polls did not sit well with the strife-weary voters.

The election results also vindicated the wisdom of sending U.S. troops to Santo Domingo last year to

Joaquin Balaguer meets his supporters.

prevent a Communist take-over; many liberals, notably Sen. J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.) had jumped on LBJ for what they called an unnecessary action.

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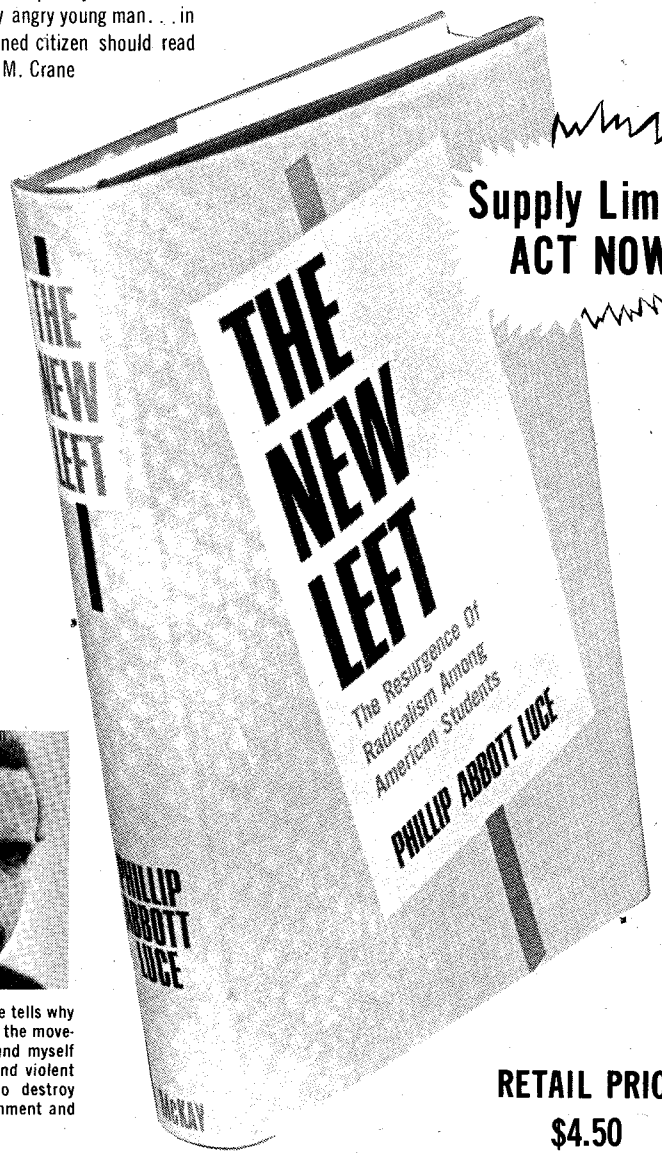

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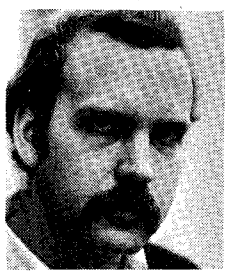

Phillip Abbott Luce tells why he defected: "I left the movement because I found myself involved in illegal and violent actions designed to destroy our American government and institutions."

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Conservatives will undoubtedly disagree with some of the opinions expressed in this book, but all will recognize its importance as an effective anti-Communist weapon in the arsenal of freedom.

Luce's purpose in writing the book was "to inform people of the real nature of the New Left and to detail their activities, in the hope that others might not have to go through the same breaking process that I had to go through."

And no one is better qualified to tell the **inside** story—the author actually lived it!

Until January, 1965, Luce was a leader in the New Left and young Communist movements. He helped write the speeches, edit the magazines, recruit new members, man the picket lines. No job was too big or small for this "true believer." He was a dedicated revolutionary . . . until he discovered, like so many others before him, the awful meaning of Communist discipline.

Today, Luce is the subject of a continual and vicious smear campaign from his former comrades. They have given him the dubious distinction of Public Enemy #3—after Lyndon Johnson and J. Edgar Hoover.

It is easy to see why the leftists and Communists are so angry and more than a little bit scared. Luce pulls no punches. He names names and bares their (often illegal) activities to the light of public scrutiny. Here are just a few of the startling revelations you'll find in **The New Left**:

- why so many young people are attracted to the New Left
- how our official "peaceful co-existence" line helps the Communists recruit members
- the little-known group of young people in New York City "who are working 24 hours a day for the revolutionary overthrow of the United States"
- the fanatics, led by a Negro ex-marine, who have dedicated themselves to violence and terror
- the inside (and at times humorous and poignant story) of Luce's "Student Trip to Cuba" in defiance of the State Department's ban
- the vicious in-fighting among the various leftist and Communist groups
- what happened when the party asked Luce to go "underground"
- secret arms caches and Communist training schools
- why the new leftists would rather fight than talk
- how Big Labor supports the New Left

NEW 'WITNESS'

John Chamberlain says, "Phillip Abbott Luce . . . is destined to be known as the Whittaker Chambers of his generation." And just as Chambers' book, **Witness**, was required reading to understand the Old Left, Luce's book must be read to understand the New Left.

As usual, most Americans are shockingly ignorant of what motivates these militant young people and of the serious threat they pose for our country. The author give us fair warning: We should, " . . . stop writing off the New Left as a bunch of beatniks and Communist misfits and take them seriously enough to begin rationally countering their propaganda. . . ." In his final chapter, Luce suggests what we, as concerned Americans, can do to "Stop them [the New Left] in their public tracks."

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AID Boondoggles Also Scored

Rep. H. R. Gross Warns Administration: 'Follow Own Advice On Foreign Travel'

From the Allen-Scott Report

President Johnson is being sharply told that curbing government spending, like charity, should begin at home.

Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa) longtime militant economy advocate, bluntly challenged the sincerity of a presidential directive that government officials forgo "some previously planned travel . . . in view of the high cost of the conflict in Viet Nam."

As evidence, Gross caustically noted that the order, stentoriously announced by the White House recently, had not kept Administration leaders from traveling abroad, nor the President's own daughter from arranging an extensive European tour.

"For some time," said Gross, "the newspapers have been carrying reports that Lynda Bird Johnson will vacation abroad this summer. According to these accounts, she is so eager to rush off that she won't wait for her graduation exercises and her diploma will be mailed to her."

In direct contrast, Gross charged, there are numerous indications the Administration is preparing to urge Americans not to make foreign trips.

"In deep trouble because of another threatened huge deficit in the balance of payments," the outspoken legislator said, "President Johnson and Commerce Secretary Connor apparently are laying the ground work for a campaign to pressure Americans from traveling abroad, and thus plug one of the holes in the outflow of dollars to other countries.

"This has been an interesting exercise in futility in the past, because members of Johnson's official family have been among the worst offenders in traveling abroad. Several months ago, Defense Secretary McNamara went on a vacation-skiing trip to Switzerland. Treasury Secretary Fowler and Gardner Ackley, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, are going to a bankers' conference in Madrid.

"And the President's brother-in-law, Anthony Taylor, and his wife toured the Middle East at government expense—reputedly as some kind of a consultant.

"With a squeeze play about to be used on the average American who wants to go abroad, it will be interesting to note whether officials of the Johnson Administration and the President's family continue to spend American dollars abroad, and whether there will be more repetitions of the President's hocus-pocus of don't do as we do, but do as we say."

Rep. Gross has received hundreds of letters, postal cards and telegrams lauding his recent denunciation of " 'Great Society' highjinks" and "exhibitionist dancing" at the Smithsonian Institution and the White House until 3 o'clock in the morning by the "mink coat set."

"My 19-year-old son, a volunteer Marine, is in Viet Nam," wrote a Pennsylvanian. "When I read about that shameful spectacle, it makes my heart ache."

★ ★ ★

The Agency for International Development (foreign aid administration) is spending many thousands of dollars for so-called consultants—on projects that have all the earmarks of being boondoggles.

This is clearly indicated in a list obtained from AID by Rep. Gross, a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, which is considering President Johnson's $3.38-billion foreign aid bill. AID produced the revealing information at the insistent demand of Gross, a militant economy advocate.

Following are significant highlights:

• Harvard law professor, $1,690 to "provide advice and guidance on revision of investment guaranteed contract."

• Communications and administration specialist, $2,997 to "undertake studies and analyses with respect to establishment of IESC."

• International sales specialist, $7,471 "to advise on implementation of executive service corps proposal."

• International trade specialist, $3,900 to "review recommendations before the Advisory Committee for Private Enterprise in Foreign Aid and to assist in preparation of final report."

• Faculty member of the graduate school, University of Illinois, $2,025 to "observe and analyze activities of rural industrial technical assistance projects in northeast Brazil."

• Economic development consultant, $3,400 to "conduct studies to increase American investment and trade in Korea and Thailand."

• Faculty member of the School of Business Administration, Washington University, $2,025 to "observe and analyze marketing and distribution of rural industrial assistance projects in northeast Brazil."

• Management and engineering specialist, $1,875 to "observe and analyze management and engineering systems activities of rural industrial assistance projects in northeast Brazil."

• Financial specialist, $2,300 to "provide assistance in the study and formulation of policies, standards and procedures for capital assistance and lending activities with respect to industrial projects and financial institutions."

Many Americans have written Rep. Gross (R.-Iowa) supporting his denunciation of "'Great Society' highjinks" while Viet Nam war is going on.

Through questioning of AID officials, Gross also ascertained that the United States is paying more than 40 per cent of the cost of the U.N. Technical Assistance Program for the Congo, although only 13 Americans are on its staff of 1,288.

In striking contrast, there are 37 Iron Curtain nationals who contribute nothing for this work. They include 28 from Poland, four from Czechoslovakia, three from Yugoslavia, two from Hungary.

The United States contributes $5 million to this program. The other seven contributors are the Congo, Britain, Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, Canada and Norway.

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Why Raise the Debt Limit?

From the Chicago *Tribune*

The accompanying graph makes it harder than ever to see why the Administration must have another increase in the debt limit.

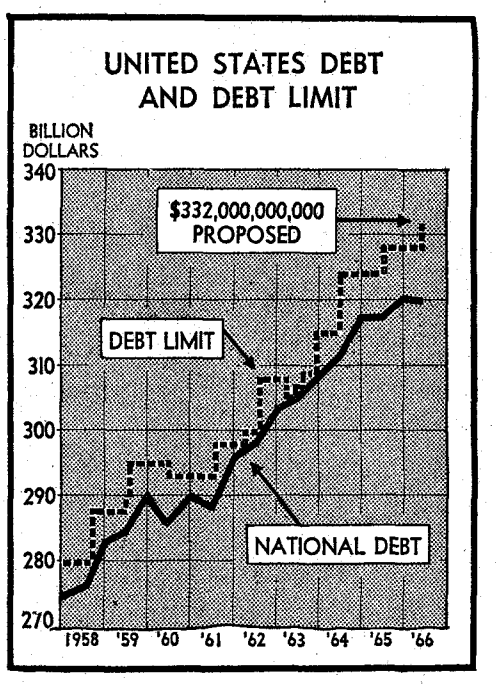
For years, the graph shows, Congress was only a half-jump ahead of the actual debt in establishing the debt limit; the theory was that this tight rein would tend to prevent government extravagance. Instead, the deficit spending continued and Congress merely raised the limit time after time to accommodate the rising debt.

But in the last two years the limit seems to have risen much faster than the actual debt. At the moment, there is a leeway of nearly $10 billion, more than at any time since the end of the war. The present debt limit is $328 billion while the actual debt has slipped to less than $319 billion. The Administration talks of soaring receipts from taxes and the possibility of a balanced budget.

Why, then, does the White House want to raise the debt limit another $4 billion to $332 billion? If Mr. Johnson and his advisers had confidence in their own assurances and predictions, you'd think they would be happy to announce that for the first time in nearly 20 years there was no need to increase the limit.

They dare not do this because they know perfectly well that the debt figure is an illusory one, and for a number of reasons.

The debt has been held down so far this year by higher Social Security taxes and withholding taxes. These windfalls will be offset by the cost of Medicare and by lower tax receipts next spring. The debt has been held down by other gimmicks such as the new scheme to sell government assets, and by obtaining money from government agencies whose debt is not considered part of the national debt. In addition, there are the uncertain costs of the war and the expanding operations of the "Great Society."



By asking for a higher limit, the Administration is acknowledging in effect that it doesn't trust the assurances it is giving to the public. Congress is proving reluctant to give the Administration all it wants. It would be wiser to quote the White House's own assurances and deny any increase at all.

□ □ □

REP. PAUL FINO (R.-N.Y.) has introduced legislation to prohibit the Office of Economic Opportunity from providing housing for the "dregs of society: criminals, junkies and the like." Fino's bill would prevent the anti-poverty agency from using federal funds for any housing program and would prevent the Department of Housing and Urban Development from subcontracting funds to agencies that receive anti-poverty funds. Fino said that he understood that organizations from 15 to 20 cities have applied for anti-poverty funds to set up housing.

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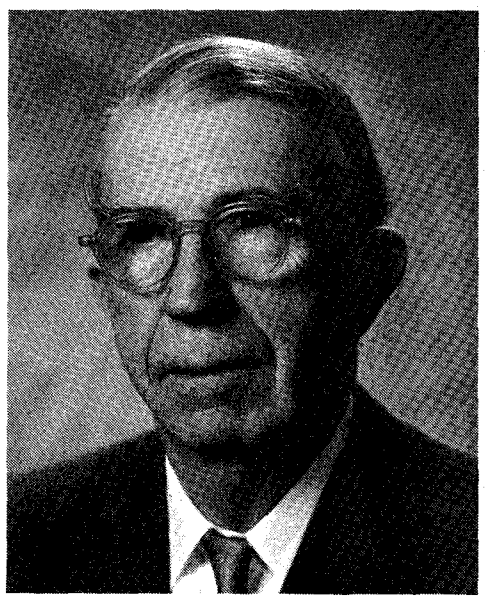

Chairman Howard Smith (D.-Va.) left, of the House Rules Committee, so far cannot get the "Freedom of Information Bill" out of his committee. As Rep. John Rhodes (R.-Ariz.) points out, government employes do not want the public to see their failures.

Hypocritical Turnabout

Liberals Using Rules Committee To Kill Legislation They Oppose

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

Chairman Howard Smith (D.-Va.) of the House Rules Committee was for many years a favorite whipping boy of Northern Democrats.

His conservative coalition, they charged, often prevented vital legislation from reaching the House floor for a vote. So, in 1961, the liberals struck a blow for democracy, packing the Rules Committee with enough Northern Democrats to render the conservative coalition impotent.

No longer does the Rules Committee bury liberal legislation. It now serves as the graveyard for other bills, those opposed by the Administration.

Consider S. 1160, the so-called "freedom of information" bill long sought by foes of governmental secrecy. The bill twice passed the Democratic-controlled Senate, in 1964 and 1965. On March 30 it won the backing of the appropriate subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations.

Less than a month later the Government Operations committee itself approved the bill, which was then sent to the Rules Committee. There the "freedom of information" bill remains and there is little likelihood that the White House will permit its consideration by the House.

As Sigma Delta Chi, the national professional journalism society, observed:

"The Johnson Administration blocked passage of a federal public records bill in 1965, and seems to be opposed to any legislation in this field which will limit executive branch secrecy."

The bill so vehemently opposed by the President, and by the liberal Democrats who control the Rules Committee, is not complicated. It simply provides: 1. for every agency of the federal government to make all its records promptly available to any person upon request; 2. for court action to guarantee the public's right of access to government information; and 3. for exceptions from the disclosure requirements for certain specified categories of sensitive government information which would be exempted for reasons of national security.

The bill has been endorsed by Sigma Delta Chi, the American Newspaper Publishers Association, the National Editorial Association and the American Bar Association.

Opposition of the President and the entrenched bureaucracy he heads is not difficult to fathom. As Rep. John J. Rhodes (R.-Ariz.) has said: "No government employe at any level believes that the 'public interest' would be served by disclosure of his failures or wrongdoings."

The Administration has repeatedly refused to make public details on the manner in which multi-million-dollar contracts are let. In 1962, for instance, the National Science Foundation decided it would not be "in the public interest" to disclose cost estimates submitted by unsuccessful contractors in connection with Project Mohole, a major deep sea study.

Subsequent investigation by Sen. Thomas Kuchel (R.-Calif.) disclosed that the contract was awarded not to the low bidder but to a Texas firm headed by a friend of then-Vice President Johnson. Only after Kuchel exposed the figures in a Senate speech were they declassified.

Scores of newsmen have urged passage of S. 1160 to guarantee them access to government records denied them by self-serving bureaucrats. All too typical cases of governmental secrecy:

- A list of private offices rented by the federal government in Philadelphia was withheld because it was considered a "confidential matter" between the landlords and the government.
- Only after a congressional subcommittee intervened did the Rural Electrification Administration disclose information regarding loans it made with federal tax money.
- Officials of various Job Corps centers have denied newsmen access to records indicating how many employes are on the payroll and what they are earning.
- Reporters are denied the names of firms given export licenses for shipment of goods to Iron Curtain countries. The Commerce Department maintains that the data are not in the public interest.

Two years ago, the President proudly announced that he was saving millions by turning out the White House lights. When a member of my staff asked the White House for figures on the presidential light bill, he was told flatly they were unavailable.

(Copyright 1966, King Features Synd.)

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DO AS I SAY, NOT . . . While LBJ was telling housewives to buy cheaper food to fight high prices, he neglected to report that last year the White House threw 138 parties, at which 30,000 guests were wined and dined. There is no indication the White House chef is now using the cheaper cuts of meat or is substituting margarine for butter.

'Interstate' Again Expanded

Commerce in the Graveyard

From the Richmond *News Leader*

"Is there any remaining validity to the distinction between intrastate and interstate commerce?"

Some lawyers for the First Congregational Church of Los Angeles put that despairing question recently to the U.S. Supreme Court. And the court answered, in effect, "Nope. None at all."

That is perhaps an overstatement. What the court did was to deny *certiorari* (refuse to hear an appeal) in a proceeding brought against the church by the National Labor Relations Board. The NLRB found the church guilty of an unfair labor practice in the operation of its cemetery, and the 9th Circuit Court upheld the board. By refusing *certiorari*, the Supreme Court let the order stand. In theory, this action says nothing of the high court's own opinion, but the effect is substantially as if the court had affirmed.

And in this case, the effect is to extend the commerce clause of the Constitution by one more fatal step.

The evidence before the NLRB indicated that three "marker trimmers" at the church's Ingleside cemetery undertook to join Local 986 of the Teamsters Union. The cemetery superintendent promptly fired them. They went to the NLRB, which found that the cemetery was engaged in interstate commerce. The employes were ordered reinstated with back pay, plus interest, and the church was ordered to post the usual notices of cease-and-desist.

How did a cemetery get to be in interstate commerce? It developed that the cemetery had taken in gross revenues for the 1962-63 fiscal year of $500,000. In this same period, it had spent $3,000, or six-tenths of 1 per cent, on goods purchased directly from out of state.

To the NLRB, this was plainly a "substantial" involvement in interstate commerce. And though it would be difficult to imagine a business more wholly local than the business of burying the dead, the NLRB's view has now prevailed.

Counsel for the church protested in their petition for appeal that "if the NLRB properly asserted jurisdiction in this case and on this record, there is no longer any 'local' commerce." That seems to be the size of it. The old distinctions, so carefully drawn for the high court by Hughes in 1937, now have been laid in the grave. And John Marshall, who started all this, perhaps is spinning in his.

□ □ □

TIMELY WARNING—"In a world where totalitarian groups disguise themselves by endless metamorphoses into front groups and fellow travelers conceal their true allegiance, exposure is an essential process. The use of the McCarthy label to deter legitimate identification of Communists thus strikes directly at the ability of a democratic society to defend itself. If successful, it would give these groups a privileged sanctuary, where they would be immune from criticism while working to undermine the society that harbors them."—George Field, Executive Director of Freedom House.

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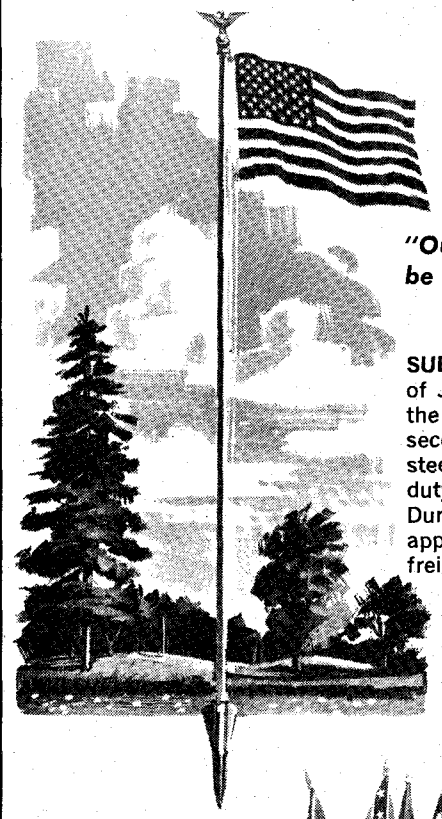

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— Carl Schurz

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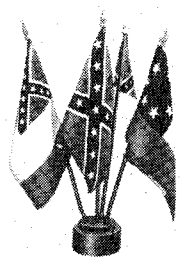

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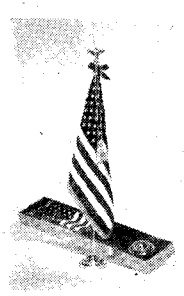

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The Crisis in British Medicine

By JOAN HOBSON

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The wife of an English doctor finds that after 18 years of socialized medicine her country's general practitioners have had enough. They are about ready to quit en masse unless something is done about their low pay, long working hours and steady loss of prestige. Medicare begins in the United States on July 1; Mrs. Hobson's article should give pause to those who are already speaking of expanding the program.

More than 75 per cent of Great Britain's doctors have written letters of resignation to the National Health Service (NHS). The letters, however, have not yet arrived. They are stored, ready for instant dispatch, in a well-guarded strong room beneath the Medical Association's London headquarters. The situation between government and general practitioners (GPs) in England has reached the critical state, and unless substantial reforms are quickly made in pay and work conditions, these letters of resignation will shortly be sent to the minister of health. Three months later the British Health Service will collapse.

Since socialized medicine was introduced in the British Isles, doctors have been struggling against terrific odds to make a success of this all-time high in welfare service. But now they are exhausted to the point of being physically incapable of dealing with the work load imposed by over-demanding patients. While improved pay would enable them to employ more nursing and clerical aid, lack of money is not their main grouse.

Government directives and restrictions have robbed them of the clinical freedom essential to the practice of good medicine. They have no assurance of a decent income during retirement or the means to break the vicious cycle of an increasing number of patients and a declining number of doctors.

In 1911 the humanitarian politician David Lloyd George dreamed of free medical care for all. "The spectre of sickness haunts the poor of Britain," he declared, and with his National Insurance Act he laid the foundations of state medicine as it stands today. Up to that time the poor had received medicial treatment as charity, undertaken by generous-spirited doctors. Free treatment like those who gratefully accepted straight medical care for their seven cents in 1911, patients now feel entitled to anything that's going. "I'll have some new reading glasses, and a spare set of dentures," says the opportunist.

Patients assume that when a prescription is issued it only remains for the pharmacist to fill it. But it doesn't take long for the Pricing Bureau to pinpoint the sins of the practitioner, whose prescription costs are above average.

His identity will be traced by a clerk, his name reported to an administrator, and he will be visited and cautioned by a government employe who has no personal knowledge of the cases in question. Deductions to cover the cost of supposed overprescribing of expensive items are made from the doctor's monthly pay check. A disregarded request to curtail the use of costly drugs can result in fines of up to $280.

Medicos are not trained to scrimp on quality, and they resent the government's trying to force them to pinch pennies. They feel that they must be free to order whatever they deem necessary, be it health salts or hormones. To them, medicine should not be merchandised on a discount basis.

Doctors are harried with all kinds of other inescapable rules and regulations. A patient must have a certificate to claim sickness benefit and to absent himself from work, as well as another indicating when he's well again. A broken arm needs weekly confirmation that it's still broken; eyes cannot be tested without a doctor's note. Medical officers of health impugn a GP's ability to decide if a long-term patient is ill enough to continue on sick leave, and demand detailed reports on conditions and progress.

Local authorities must be informed of infectious diseases within 24 hours. After seeing a child and diagnosing measles, the doctor must ignore more urgent work to complete a complicated notification and post it immediately. Expectant mothers must have a form granting them permission to have their baby. A doctor must also take time to keep a mileage record for income tax purposes, otherwise the authorities will refuse his claim for legitimate medical journeys.

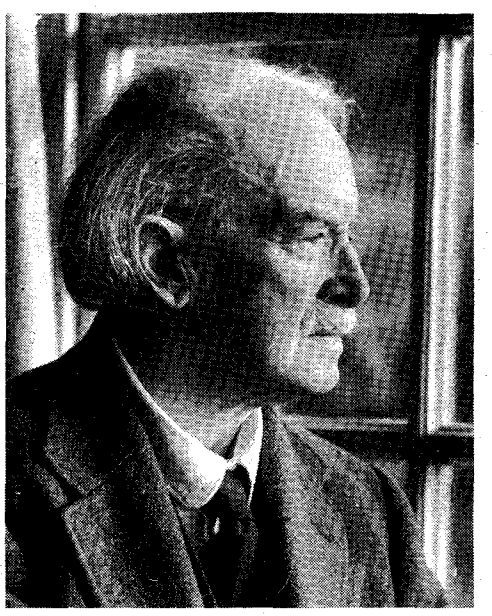
Thousands of doctors would prefer a private practice, but these hardly exist today. A man with an outstanding bedside manner might make a reasonable living in some fashionable seaside resort, but such plum situations are difficult to find and command prices of up to $56,000. Only one private practice has been offered in the *British Medical Journal* columns over the past six months, and it was in Ireland.

One way out for the British doctor is emigration to America, Canada, Australia, or South Africa. Doctors are taking it at the rate of 400 a year—one-fifth of the yearly output of British medical schools. It is only the presence of Indian and Pakistani nationals who come to practice in Britain that keep hospitals running with any sort of efficiency.

Doctors are desperately anxious about the future. There are currently 43 GPs to every 100,000 Britons, compared with 144 to 100,000 in the United States in 1962. In underprivileged Yugoslavia the number is 76 to 100,000, making Yugoslav state medicine an outstanding success. The British population is rising steadily, and there may be a serious doctor shortage within the next 10 years. Politicians are fond of describing the British Health Service as "best in the world," not mentioning that the doctors are paying for it with early deaths from coronary thrombosis. Fourteen per cent of them have heart attacks before age 50.

Ill health is forcing doctors to retire early, even though retirement pay is inadequate. Retirement pay is calculated at one-eighteenth of pensionable income for each year of service. A doctor with an average number of patients who joined the scheme in 1948 would retire now with a whopping $1,800 per annum.

Medical treatment in England has improved since 1948, but to use this fact as proof of NHS success is naivete itself. People also have come to enjoy better food, better homes, bigger cars and regular holidays—all without the existence of a National Comestible Service, government-built Britannia cars, or a ministry of vacations.



Former Prime Minister David Lloyd George laid the basis for Britain's socialized medicine back in 1911.

The American Medical Association's long, though ill-fated, campaign against Medicare, described by one prominent member, Dr. Donovan Ward, as "Not one, but two steps down the path of socialized medicine," rightly used the failings of the British Health Service to illustrate the dangers of state medicine. In the vast halls of administration, for example, along the corridors of medical power, doctors are outnumbered by administrative staff more than 2 to 1. The health service seems doomed to strangle itself with the ever-tightening strands of bureaucracy.

Human nature can't be changed; people will inevitably strive to get their "money's worth." Aneurin Bevan himself said in 1952, "I shudder to think of the ceaseless cascade of medicine pouring down British throats," and slapped a 25-cent charge on each prescription. This, collected by pharmacists, slightly eased the flood of demands until, as a powerful political platform, the present Labor government removed the charge in February 1965, causing an additional six million prescriptions each month, costing $10 million to be filled.

If compulsion to participate in state medicine were relaxed, hundreds of thousands of Britons would opt out and undertake the entire responsibility for their own medical care. But no one will if it means that they have to pay twice.

The majority of family physicians are unmaterialistic men, dedicated to their profession but untrained in verbal warfare. Belatedly they have appointed the General Medical Services Committee to negotiate with the government to form a new-look health charter.

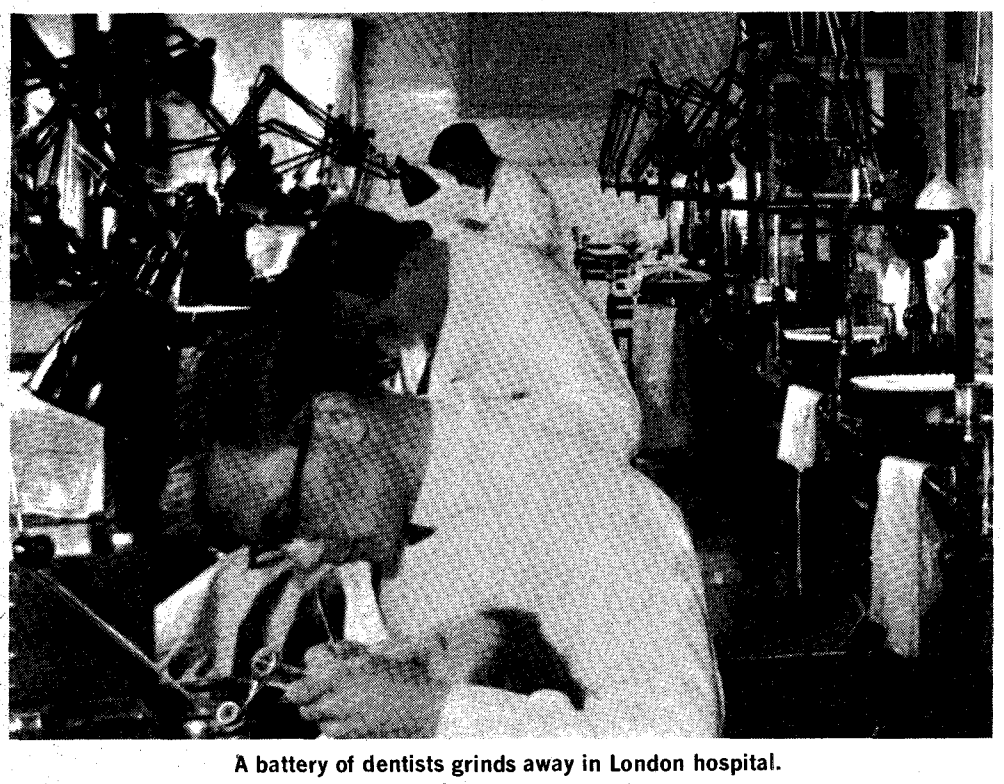
Minister of Health Kenneth Robinson is flourishing offers of extra pay for weekend and night calls, with some financial aid toward clerical help, but such trivia bypass the very heart of the problem. Robinson's proposals do nothing to reduce the work load. The obvious solution is for doctors to charge a small fee, say 25 cents, for each consultation and home visit; this would supplement the doctor's income and act as a strong deterrent to unnecessary demands. But Robinson says he will never agree to this, although it has worked successfully in Sweden.

In 1948 state medicine cost $363 million. The total for 1966 will be $28 billion. New hospitals must be built to augment and replace the long-neglected, out-of-date ones that serve at present. If the health service does manage to survive, its cost will go up year after year.

The GPs are accused of selfishly fighting for their own interests. However, they are really fighting for a structure within which better doctoring will be possible. At present they are sick of clerical chores and non-ill patients who demand certificates rather than treatment. Poor pay and long hours do not—indeed cannot—encourage good medicine. In the constant struggle to balance time against numbers, standards are falling and good intentions fading.

When Lloyd George's brain-child was conceived 54 years ago, he couldn't have visualized the insatiable monster it has developed into. If the British Health Service is to be saved, energetic steps must be taken at once.

It is now 11 months since the profession stated its case before the minister. Robinson says negotiations "are bound to take a long time," but his delaying tactics merely strengthen the doctors' determination to dispatch those resignations, thus breaking the contract they entered into with the government almost 18 years ago.



A battery of dentists grinds away in London hospital.

□ □ □

HAVE NO FEAR—Vice President Hubert Humphrey recently told the nation's P-TA conventioneers how lucky they were to see the acceptance of "Great Society" largess to schools without a whimper from local citizens. "The long debate over federal aid has dwindled away. The fear that federal aid would mean federal control has been laid to rest," he said. He is absolutely right about that. Thanks to the whipcracking of the federal education czar in recent years, the fear of federal control of local schools is no longer a fear. It is a demonstrated fact.—From the Dallas *Morning News*

□ □ □

TENNIS FOR THE RICH—Rep. Paul Fino (R.-N.Y.) has renewed his attack on federal bureaucrats who are using taxpayer dollars to help build tennis courts in Montgomery County, Md. The grant of $81,351 was made by the Department of Housing and Urban Development under the so-called "open spaces" program. Fino said "the federal government has better things to do with our money than subsidize tennis courts in greater Washington's wealthiest suburb." The area—which has a median family income of $17,272 a year—earlier had received $76,351 for the same purpose.

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Spawned in 'New Leader' Office

New Book with Old Advice: GOP Must Turn Left

By ALLAN H. RYSKIND

The Party That Lost Its Head, a new book put out by Alfred A. Knopf, might be more aptly titled, *The Publisher Who Lost His Touch*. Written by George F. Gilder and Bruce K. Chapman, this work claims that only by following the path charted by the authors can the GOP hope to shake off defeat and despair.

These two "elder statesmen" who have taken it upon themselves to lecture the Grand Old Party were all of 25 and 24 years of age, respectively, when they began writing their magnum opus. Their magic formula for winning (hold onto your hats, now): The GOP must move to the left. Indeed, the party must take up the ideological torch of a Lindsay or a Rockefeller, fueled in part, of course, by the additional advice of these young sages.

Tom Wicker, the New York *Times'* Washington bureau chief, has written that this is a brilliant document penned by two "remarkable Republicans." But Tom is easily fooled, as he convincingly demonstrated when he recently gave the status of "Asian scholars" to a group of biologists and high school English teachers who want the United States to recognize Red China.

The theme that the GOP must move to port—and this may come as a surprise to Mr. Wicker and the authors, who are, perhaps, too young to remember—is not exactly earth-shattering. One faintly recalls that it has been stated before by other and older liberals.

It is, of course, understandable that children will parrot their elders. But what can be said of the tastes of Mr. Knopf, an old-timer, who enthusiastically publishes these liberal Republican cliches and charges the public $6.95 to read them? And what can be said for a publisher who thinks it valuable to foist upon the Republican party a strategy devised by two lads barely emerged from adolescence?

The two authors, it must be admitted, are intelligent and pleasant enough to talk to and no doubt have their field of competence. But why has so much of the press fawned over this book when the authors' credentials for writing it are hardly impressive?

Before accepting the Gilder-Chapman manuscript, Mr. Knopf (or the Knopf editor who worked on the book, Ashbel Green), might at least have checked to see if the authors themselves had achieved any success in the political arena. Friends since their days together at Harvard in the late '50s, Chapman and Gilder teamed up in 1960 to help lead a youth division of the abortive Rockefeller for President campaign. Failing Rocky, they turned their energies to editing a "progressive Republican" publication, *Advance*, out of Washington, D.C.; *Advance* folded in 1964 when even liberal Republicans became tired of financing it. Both boarded the "stop Goldwater" movement in 1964—and lost. Chapman then became an editorial writer for the New York *Herald Tribune*—now merged out of existence. This is not the stunning success we expect of those who so self-assuredly tell the GOP how to manage its affairs.

Yet equally as intriguing as the credentials of the authors is the story of how this book came into existence. One would suspect that a book expounding "modern" Republicanism ha been incubated under the watchful eye of a Rockefeller or Javits or Lindsay. Not at all. It was hatched in the offices of the *New Leader*, the house organ of America's non-Communist "Democratic left." And guess who is now associate editor of this Socialist-oriented publication? Our authority on the GOP, George F. Gilder. The *New Leader* editors tell all about the formation of the book in their May 23 issue.

"Except on rare occasions when we may do a round-up list," say the editors, "we tend to shy away from announcements in this space. . . . Last week, however, a book appeared with which we feel particularly involved and a poll of our staff—excluding George Gilder—found every member in unusual agreement that it be recommended not only for its unflinching intelligence but for its infectiously lively style. . . .

"It would be a mistake to assume, though, that our involvement merely stems from Gilder's having joined the *New Leader* . . . or Chapman's having written here. For the fact is the book was born here." The editors then go on to say that it all started on June 22, 1964, when the *New Leader* published a Gilder article expounding much of the theme of the present volume.

There is every reason, of course, for the *New Leader's* enthusiasm: The book attacks nearly everything that is Republican.

Not content with harpooning Goldwater, the authors sharply criticize as being too conservative the Republican leadership, including Sen. Everett Dirksen and Rep. Gerald Ford. They take a slam at Southern Republicans, Republicans who oppose federal aid, Republicans who support right-to-work, Republicans who think something is fishy in the State Department, Republicans who knock McNamara—indeed, just about any Republican save Rocky, Javits and Lindsay.

While claiming here and there to be concerned about federal encroachment on the individual, they go right on to criticize Republicans for being opposed to compulsory unionism and praise only those Republicans who see the federal government as the major answer to our ills. "Lindsay," they say, "was, perhaps, the most valuable U.S. congressman."

Freely confessing that Jacob Javits' book, *Order of Battle*, is almost identical to the premises held by Hubert Humphrey, the authors nevertheless insist that Javits' tome "remains the best published statement of progressive Republicanism since Arthur Larson's *A Republican Looks at His Party* . . . ." It is no wonder that these self-proclaimed Republicans insist that there is no "urgent" reason for a change in Administration!

There is, also, something malicious in the book's swipes at Southern Republicans, with the clear suggestion that all are catering to racists or are shot clean through with bigotry. Gilder and Chapman do not, however, explain the fact that the Republican Alabaman delegation, brought in on Goldwater's coattails, came up with a civil rights bill praised by such liberal columnists as Evans and Novak, or that Rep. John Buchanan (R.-Ala.) has been crusading against the Ku Klux Klan. Indeed, he has been doing it as a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities—the body that the authors' hero, Mayor Lindsay, so desperately desired to abolish while in Congress.

These Harvard grads, moreover, should read *Southern Politics* by the late Harvard professor, V.O. Key, to discover that Sen. Strom Thurmond became a leader in South Carolina by refusing to play up to the racists. (Using peacenik verbiage, Gilder and Chapman also accuse Thurmond of being a "militarist." Perhaps the charge is justified. When war was declared on Nazi Germany, Thurmond obtained a leave of absence from a circuit judgeship to volunteer for the war, winning five battle stars in the European theatre as a member of the 82nd Airborne.)

Goldwater's attempt to win the South, they indicate, was also based on racism. But "moderate" Ray Bliss, the GOP's national chairman, has vigorously dissented from this view, remarking in the fall of 1965: "I believe the Republican strength in the South, as clearly demonstrated in the 1964 elections and is evident today, is a positive—not a negative—force."

The authors make the audacious claim that theirs is a "conservative approach" to the "regeneration" of the Republican party. Actually, in the more candid—and approving—words of the *New Leader*, Gilder and Chapman "would place the GOP somewhere to the left of the Democrats. . . ."

Authors George Gilder, left, and Bruce Chapman. BOB NOBLE

Automobile Safety Laws

Should Government Provide 'Total Protection'?

By BARRY GOLDWATER

Without arguing the merits of modern automobile construction, it is politically pertinent to examine the attempts to regulate such construction by government edict.

We can dispose of the concern of those who have the perfectly natural feeling that when you buy an automobile you should buy a piece of machinery that will perform as claimed, that will operate in a normally safe manner if used as intended. That feeling already is being given attention in the courts, where an extensive testing of the liability of manufacturers properly is taking place.

The courts, therefore, offer an appropriate place to assure that a car purchaser is getting fair and safe value when he plunks down his cash. No one can seriously question that there are legal routes along which to assure good faith and performance in dealings between a producer, a seller and a buyer-user.

But these are days of political and governmental impatience. Every nook and cranny of American life is restlessly searched by the apostles of government power for new areas into which to thrust that power.

The automobile is a natural target. It is important in the mobile American society. It is produced by relatively few companies and represents a substantial portion of most household economies.

It now seems inevitable that either the state or federal government will start writing specifications for the family auto. Sadly enough, there is an inclination to readily accept this form of regulation at the state level. To my mind, it is part of a potentially dangerous departure no matter which level of government begins it.

The departure is evident in other areas. It is the assumption that one of government's roles is to "protect" people in every phase of their life. This expands the role of government far beyond the basic one of maintaining order, protecting the state from invasion, issuing currency and legally preventing citizens from forcefully or fradulently exploiting, robbing or harming other citizens.

This new role of government, however, says that government also is competent to and, indeed, should protect people from themselves. It should make them healthy, prescribe their diet, set their income, tell them how long and how hard they should work and even how much of their own money they should spend.

Each one of those areas is part of state regulation at one or another level. Now this principle is to be extended to telling manufacturers what sort of cars they may build to sell to Americans. This cannot help but have some limiting effect on competition, on choice and perhaps even on development.

All this is beyond the question of safety, which has a means of protection in the courts and in the simple mechanics of the market place—people aren't likely to keep on buying cars that don't function safely.

Let us hope that somewhere in this pell-mell rush toward government regulation some of these factors will be considered.

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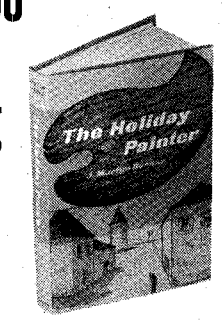

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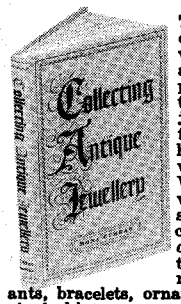

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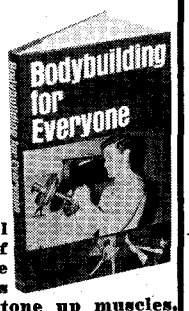

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Liberal Romney Running Hard for '68 Nomination

By WALTER TROHAN

The man out in front for the Republican presidential nomination as of today is Gov. George Romney of Michigan, the one-time peddler turned politician, who is not without vigor and charm.

He is the front runner because he is the only possible contender with a formidable bloc of convention votes. Of course he must win reelection as governor to keep them. If he wins big, he can expect to attract more.

In New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller has renounced presidential ambitions and pledged himself to support Romney along with Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R.-N.Y.) in second place. This Rockefeller act of renunciation could only be surpassed by a similar disclaimer from Harold E. Stassen, the one-time boy governor of Minnesota, who has been letting defeat go to his head for the last quarter of a century.

Republican leaders of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Massachusetts have declared themselves for Romney. He can be expected to control Michigan again if he wins, but he must be assumed to have such control as of today. This would give him about 300 of some 1,300 convention votes.

The bulk of the votes of these slates, except for an even split in New Jersey, gave foes of Barry Goldwater, the 1964 GOP nominee, their chief strength in the 1964 convention. This means that Romney is starting with the anti-Goldwater strength and is hoping to add to it. In wooing that strength, Romney is posing as a 100 per cent Republican where in 1964 he was 100 per cent against Goldwater and 100 per cent for himself.

Romney was one of the leaders in a fight to amend the GOP platform, a battle which was actually an attack on Goldwater himself. Romney gave the Democrats their pattern of attack on the Arizona senator by implying that Goldwater opposed civil rights, was trigger happy, and fiscally unsound.

Republicans were told that if they voted for Goldwater the country would be at war in Viet Nam in six months. Some did, and the warning came true, but not because Goldwater was put in the White House.

In the 1964 election Romney didn't identify himself as a Republican, but he is doing so now. At the recent meeting of GOP women in Washington, Romney breakfasted with a group of handpicked Goldwater supporters who are wondering where they can go in 1968.

Romney ran out on the party to win a two-year term in 1964. Now that he's running for the state's first four-year term as governor, but actually for the 1968 GOP nomination, Romney invited himself back into the party.

This isn't a difficult trick for a man who began political life as a Massachusetts Democrat to win a job in the office of the late Sen. David I. Walsh (D.-Mass.). Nor is it hard for a one-time Washington lobbyist and a super-salesman for a small American car.

Romney is a darling of the liberals, especially the breed of liberals who always busy themselves in the choice of a GOP candidate but never vote the Republican ticket. Evidently he feels he has the liberals, so he is quietly trying to win the Goldwater conservatives.

Meanwhile, he is content to have Richard M. Nixon take the spotlight as the leading contender, although Nixon doesn't have a base, since he left California, and New York, his present home state, is under the thumb of Rockefeller as far as GOP politics go.

(Copyright 1966, Chicago *Tribune*)

N. Y. Gov. Nelson Rockefeller has suggested that Gov. George Romney (left), and Sen. Jacob Javits (R.-N. Y.) would be an ideal 1968 GOP presidential ticket.

Many Michigan Republicans Are Wary of Their Governor

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

Few men are heroes in their own homes—and this applies to politicians. The voters in their home states have seen them, often at their best, but also at their worst. They have lived intimately with the quirks and irrationalities which the rest of the country seldom sees. And they have glimpsed the private faces of their leaders enough to know that they can differ from the features seen by the general public.

Gov. George Romney of Michigan, therefore, should not be judged by what Republicans in this great motor city, Detroit, may say of him. Having had to deal with him on a day-to-day basis, they may tend to be disillusioned. On the other hand, their insights into his character and the very petulance with which they discuss him may be revealing.

There are, of course, people who still go for George Romney in that diverse state. Enough of them, anyway, to re-elect him when he faces the voters again. Michigan has enjoyed the general prosperity, and whether Mr. Romney is responsible or not, he receives credit for it. As governor, moreover, he stands in sharp contrast with G. Mennen ("Soapy") Williams, whose ability to win re-election puzzled everyone except United Auto Workers Union President Walter Reuther. (Mr. Reuther wasn't surprised, because he was the architect of those monotonously repeated Williams victories.)

George Romney looks like a governor and this helps him considerably. But he is now very actively projecting himself into the presidential race—and there are Republicans in Michigan who don't think he looks, talks, or acts like a President. In fact, middle-echelon Republicans—unlike the representatives of corporate wealth in Michigan who still go for George—are growing increasingly concerned over their governor's presidential lunge.

In conversation with me, they made it clear that they would like to see him stopped. His governance of Michigan, they say, has been marked by excessive spending—the kind that would have evoked screams of anguish had "Soapy" Williams been in office—combined with much pious talk of fiscal responsiblity. If automobile sales continue to go down, Gov. Romney's easy way with a dollar may become an issue.

On grounds of political philosophy, some Republicans point out that in his travels about the country—and the incidence of these jaunts has markedly increased—Gov. Romney speaks like a conservative. He calls for limiting the size of the federal establishment, talks of states' rights and attacks the "mismanagement" in Washington. At home, however, "he talks like a Socialist," one Republican told me. And he has, it is charged, pointedly shunned conservative Republican party workers. Outside Michigan, he wears a Republican mantle. In the state, he acts as if he wished the GOP didn't exist—a kind of "unpartisanship."

But it is in his personal relations that he has evoked the most opposition. You are told over and over by people who have had dealings with him that he has an unmanageable temper—hardly a quality to look for in a President of the United States. And, in his dealings with state officials, he brooks no opposition, resorting to methods that tend to the dictatorial.

Seeing him close at hand, and reading about him in the newspapers daily, Michiganders are convinced that he is getting a hammerlock on the GOP presidential nomination. They are aware that Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York, cut out from even a "favorite son" designation by the vice-presidentially ambitious Sen. Jacob Javits, has begun to work actively for Mr. Romney. The talk of a Romney-Javits ticket, inspired by Mr. Rockefeller, has an ominous sound in Detroit.

But while Michigan Republicans—or at least, those on the county and precinct level—are pushing the panic button, the rest of the country has so far not caught fire over Gov. Romney's candidacy. The political pros do not see him building the kind of organization necessary for a convention victory. Nor do they believe that he will be able to overcome the determined opposition of Barry Goldwater, who will still be a power among the delegates in 1968. This is complacency, say anti-Romney Republicans in Michigan. "You just watch out."

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Freeman's Latest Scheme: A Federal Electric Bank

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

The Rural Electrification Administration was established back in 1935, during the heyday of the so-called first New Deal. It had virtually everybody's blessing at the time. With the big privately owned electrical utilities under attack because of Insull-type financial pyramiding, investment funds just weren't forthcoming to build new generation and transmission facilities to serve the farmer at the forks of the creek. In the depression days of the early '30s it looked as if the farmer would have to depend forever on the kerosene lamp for his lighting unless government were prepared to come to his rescue.

All this, however, was 30 years ago. Since 1936, when the Rural Electrification Administration began its operations, rural electrical cooperatives have grown like so many green bay trees. The REA has lent some $4.7 billion of government money at 2 per cent to finance these cooperatives, which pay no federal taxes.

Originally, a Rural Electric cooperative was supposed to serve a place "of 1,500 population or less." But the population limitation has long since been forgotten, for the population explosion has hit virtually every part of America. The REA, which is still engaged in its own form of empire building, now lends

Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman's bank would be the nation's fourth largest banking institution.

money to big electrical suppliers merely because once, years ago, they came within the 1,500-customer limitation.

REA money comes from the treasury on notes payable in 40 years, and Congress has to come through periodically with a new loan authorization. This poses a problem for a deficit-wary Lyndon Johnson, who has apparently decided to get REA off his back by creating a special "authority" to provide for its financing outside the regular budget.

Accordingly, two bills have been proposed to create a Federal Electric Bank that would take over the business of lending money to electrical cooperatives. Hearings started May 31 before the House of Representatives Agricultural Committee on the proposed legislation, and if one or the other of the bills eventually becomes law there will be a new financial monster in the land.

Under the terms of the particular bill offered by Rep. W.R. Poage (D.-Tex.) the federal treasury would supply up to a billion dollars capitalization for the proposed bank, with an authorization to raise $10 billion more from debentures. This would create a bank with resources of $11 billion, which would make it the fourth largest bank in the country.

Only the Bank of America ($14.9 billion), the Chase Manhattan ($12.9 billion) and the First National City ($11.9 billion) would exceed it in size. The second bill, offered by Chairman Harold D. Cooley (D.-N.C.) of the House Committee on Agriculture at the behest of Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman, would provide for an initial government subscription of $750 million, on which a total capitalization of $8.25 billion could be reared.

Though the Cooley provisions would result in a bank somewhat smaller than the bank contemplated in the Poage bill, it would still qualify as the country's fourth largest banking institution, well ahead of the Manufacturers Hanover Trust ($6.6 billion), and the Chemical New York ($5.8 billion).

The creation by the federal government of an $8 or $11-billion institution to finance new electrical utilities would, of course, make it virtually impossible for the free enterprise system to compete in the field.

Under the terms of the Cooley-Orville Freeman proposal, the Federal Electric Bank would not have to repay federal funds by any specific date, nor would it have to pay interest on the money. The bank would operate without limitation as to areas to be served by its borrowers; it would be licensed to make loans without proof of actual need; it would not be asked to worry about the possible duplication of existing facilities; and any time its operations went in the red it would be allowed to borrow from the U.S. Treasury without limitation to cover the deficit.

The really strange thing is that the Administration is supporting the creation of a new REA banking behemoth at a time when 99 per cent of the nation's farmers already have electric service. Forty per cent of the farmers happen to be served by investor-owned electrical utilities. Query: Is it Secretary Orville Freeman's idea to duplicate the facilities of the investor-owned utilities and steal their clientele with 2 per cent Federal Electric Bank money on which no federal taxes need to be paid?

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TOLL AT BERKELEY—"What do prospective students think of a university which acquires a reputation for demonstrations and disorder? *Insider's Newsletter* offers this clue: 'University of California officials report applications from high school students for admission next fall are down 21 per cent from a year ago.' "—From the Omaha (Neb.) *Evening World-Herald*

coming soon . . .

SELLOUT in VIETNAM?

by Suzanne Labin

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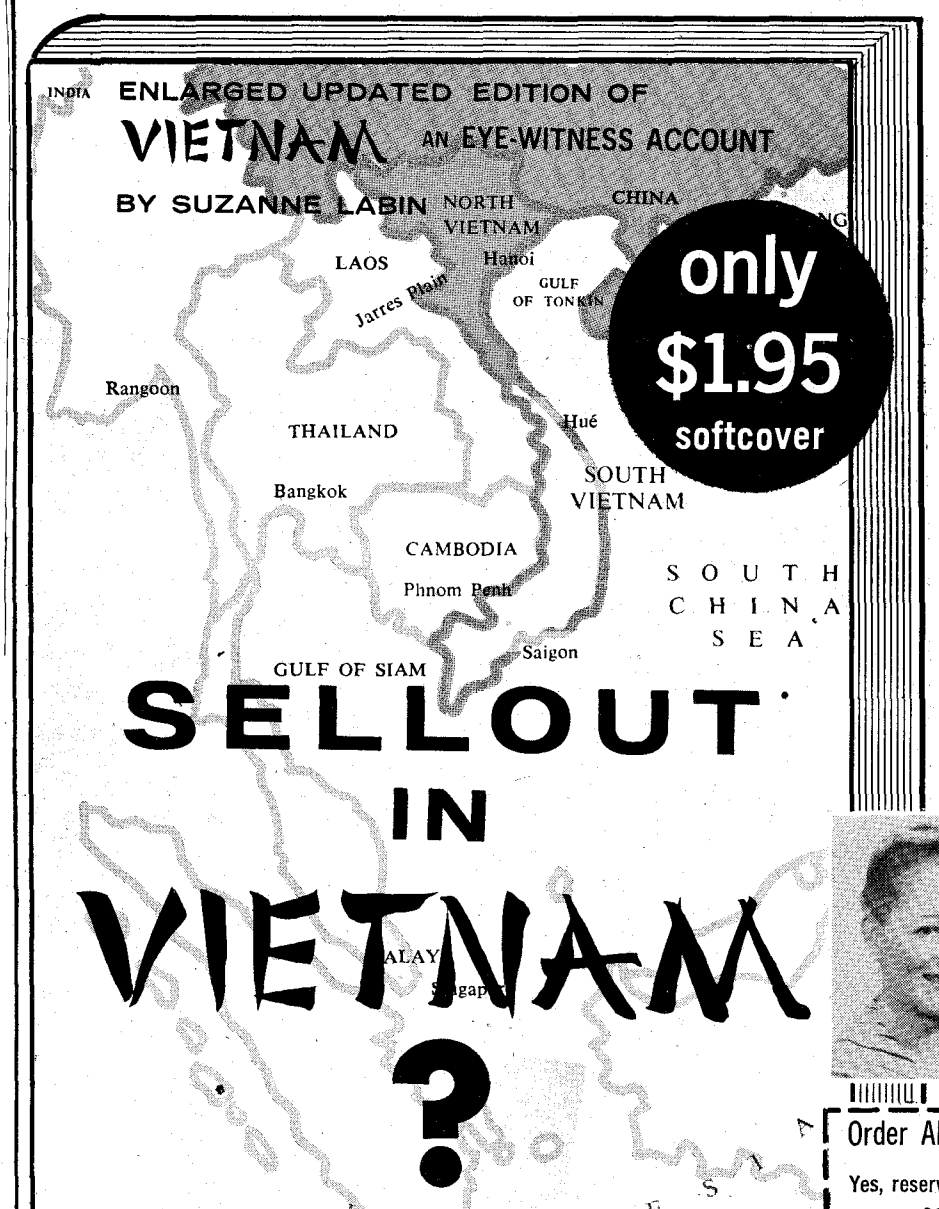

• • the betrayal of allies at Yalta, the makeshift arrangement in Korea, the wall of shame in Berlin, the protection given the Communist regime in Cuba, and the "neutralization" of Laos, foretell what we can expect from negotiations with Communists. What can be the fruits in Vietnam from "so-called free elections" called for by the Left now. A hard-core minority, here and abroad, press for "accommodation" at any price! Give in to — aggression—rioters – murderers — blackmailers because they claim the forces against us show that only thus can we have peace! "Sellout" is another name for it, if the propaganda pincer movement inside and out of Viet Nam succeeds.

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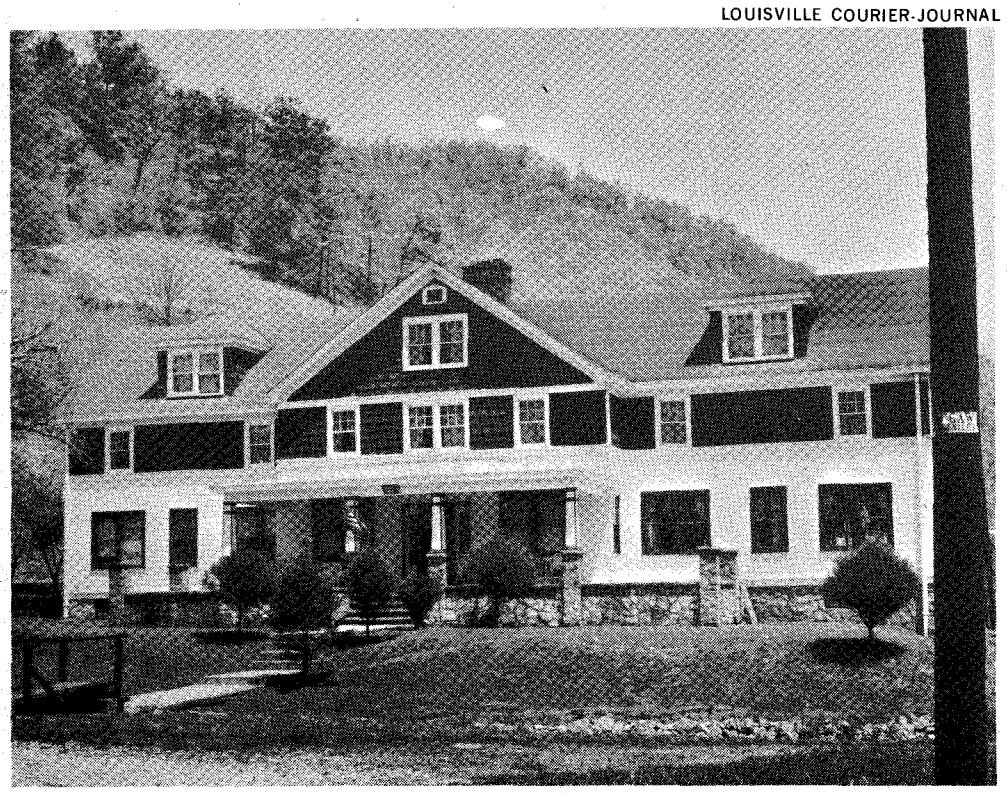

American taxpayers are shelling out $6,000 a year rent for this building in Coxton, Ky., which cost its owner only $6,000 when he bought it last June. The one-time coal company clubhouse is being used as a rehabilitation center for parolees, with all bills being paid by the federal anti-poverty agency—the Office of Economic Opportunity. The owner, James S. Cawood, purchased the building with the intention of leasing it to the federal government. Cawood's son, Billy Joe, is superintendent of the project at $7,300 a year and he has four assistants (one of them his cousin) on the payroll at a total of $23,724 a year. Groceries and other incidentals are additional costs. Despite these high expenses, the center only has nine parolees participating in its program—each of whom receives $20 a week expenses. Writing of the Coxton center in the Louisville **Courier-Journal**, reporter Kyle Vance remarked: "All parties concerned in the acquisition and leasing of the property . . . agree that political considerations might be suggested." The Harlan County (Ky.) grand jury recommended in March that the Coxton center be closed. According to the **Courier-Journal**, the jury indicted one parolee on a charge of selling barbiturates to school children and two others on charges of breaking and entering a local store.

Wallace's 'Ever Normal Granary' Is Returning Under a New Name

From the Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

Long, long ago, Henry Wallace, then secretary of agriculture, came out with a utopian plan which he called the "Ever-Normal Granary."

The general idea was that in times of plenty the government would buy surplus grain and put it away in storage. This would strengthen the market at a time when otherwise it might go down. Then, come drouth or other disaster on the farmlands, the government would release the grain, keep the price from skyrocketing and provide food for the people.

Like Joseph in the Old Testament. Get it?

Mr. Wallace put his plan into effect, in a limited sort of way. Main trouble was, he tried to provide storage for his grain mainly in the fields where the rats got into it before people needed it. In the course of time, Mr. Wallace's programs turned into a fearful mess.

Now, however, many years have passed, and the Ever-Normal Granary idea is back again.

This time it 's called "a national food stockpile," and its bears the indorsement and sponsorship of President Johnson and Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman.

Said the President when he offered the plan to the Congress:

"It establishes a reserve policy that will protect the American people from unstable supplies of food and fiber and from high prices in times of emergency."

Who would decide when grain was in surplus and the government ought to start buying it? Big Brother.

Who would decide when prices were too high and the government ought to start selling? Big Brother.

Big Brother would be authorized to buy or sell "upon such conditions as the secretary [of agriculture] may determine to be in the national interest."

Out the window would go such antiquated institutions as supply and demand, and a free market. The secretary would decide; Big Brother knows best.

This, of course, is simply the agricultural version of the philosophy that motivates a goodly share of government policy in these no-doubt enlightened times. Free institutions (so goes this philosophy) won't work unless they are guided by the all-seeing wisdom of the bureaucratic mind.

For the moment, this particular story has a happy ending. Happy for the farmers and taxpayers, that is.

The word from Capitol Hill is that Congress is not even going to debate the "national food stockpile" this year. The heat is too strong. Ungrateful farmers are not willing to put themselves under the protective custody of the secretary of agriculture, and since this is an election year, members of the Congress have gotten the message.

Which removes the danger for 1966. But another year is coming, and it will not be an election year, and congressmen again will be working under greater pressure from the Administration than the voters. As those who have been around for a while do not need to be reminded, it is always a mistake to underestimate the power of Big Brother.

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NIXON'S WARNING—The Republican party must score major gains in the November elections or "go the way of the Whigs," former Vice President Nixon warned recently. "I consider the 1966 elections the most important in my life," he added, predicting the GOP would pick up at least 40 seats in the House at Representatives and 600 in the various state legislatures.

Don'ts for Letter Writers

(*The following advice was written expressly for* Human Events *by a congressional staff assistant with long experience on Capitol Hill.*)

Although Congress often acts like a collection of rubber stamps, it occasionally shows signs of independence. Once in a while a close vote goes against the White House as individual representatives and senators hear from the grass roots. In fact, the rent subsidy scheme probably could have been killed and buried had there been a few more letters of opposition from constituents.

Make no mistake about it. Congressmen do pay attention to their mail—*if* the letters are pertinent and intelligently written. Here are some of the pitfalls to watch out for:

Don't beat a dead horse—for example, there is no longer any point in fighting against statehood for Alaska or Hawaii.

Don't write letters for or against something that has no chance of becoming law. Many bills are introduced merely to please some individual or group and it is good strategy to give such measures a good letting alone. An example is the calendar reform proposal, which has almost no chance of becoming law, as it would be opposed by almost all religious groups if it were ever pushed.

Don't write about trivia, such as the snuffboxes in the United States Senate chamber, which would be replenished at taxpayers' expense if any senator used snuff. Save your ink for the multi-billion-dollar items.

Don't write at the wrong time—this is like scratching where it doesn't itch. Watch the newspapers like *Human Events* to learn when particular legislation will come up. There is no point in writing unless your letter will reach your representative or senators in time for it to let them know your views.

Don't write to the wrong man. There is no point in writing to your representative when the bill you are concerned about is before the Senate. It may be weeks or months before the other body acts on it—or it may be defeated in the Senate.

Don't write to a member of the House about matters that are the exclusive domain of the Senate, such as treaties or nominations. Revenue bills must originate in the House, so don't write to your senators about tax reduction unless the House has taken action or appears about to.

Don't write about a subject unless you have some knowledge of it. The recipient of a letter loaded with generalities may ask you to be specific and you will be left out on a limb if you can't recite chapter and verse.

While it is best to be well-informed about the subject which you are discussing, don't worry too much about such details as bill numbers. The numbers may change during a bill's progress, especially when it has passed one house and is taken up in the other. Incidentally, H. R. does not stand for House Resolution—when followed by a bill number it means House of Representatives. Also remember that bill numbering starts anew each Congress.

If you write about existing laws, be sure to include the number of the Congress. Don't say Public Law 123—say Public Law 87-123.

Don't ask your senators or representative to vote against spending and then ask them to support your own pet spending scheme.

Keep your letters short by avoiding repetition and by not discussing more than one or two subjects. Don't, however, make them curt. It is not enough to tell your senator, "Vote for such and such a bill." State why you want him to vote for it. You may have some reason that he hasn't heard of.

Don't write canned letters. If you have intelligent views about a matter, you should be able to express them in your own words.

If you urge a large number of your associates to write about a particular subject, suggest that they write over a certain period of time and not all in one day. Don't send petitions—individual letters are far more effective.

Some problems are moral problems, so don't worry your senators and representative with utopian schemes. It is of course possible to curb some evils, such as dope peddling, but don't expect to reform the world through legislation.

If possible type your letters, but don't refrain from writing because you have to use pen and ink. After all, most of the world's greatest letters were handwritten.

Address your senators and representatives thus:

Senator_____
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20510

Representative_____
House Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20515

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REP. DONALD RUMSFELD (R.-Ill.) has discovered the origin of Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society." James Madison's accounting of *Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787* shows that on June 11, George Read of Delaware advocated the abolition of the states in favor of an all-powerful central government. Read predicted that the existence of separate states would be a "perpetual source of discord," adding, "there can be no cure for this evil but in doing away with the states altogether and uniting them into one great society." Comments Rep. Rumsfeld: "This quotation leads me to believe that the President not only did not discover the phrase 'the Great Society' but that it was rejected overwhelmingly back in 1787."

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P. R. "INDEPENDENCE"—A permanent mission of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence was opened recently in Havana in the presence of Cuban Vice Foreign Minister Pelegrin Torres. The mission chief, Narcisco Rabell Martinez, said that Cuban recognition "is a blow to Yanqui imperialism. It is clear and palpable proof that the solidarity existing since time immemorial between the peoples of Cuba and Puerto Rico continues vigorously and grows daily despite all barriers that Yanqui imperialism places between our peoples."

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Will Stock Decline Wake Up Congress and LBJ?

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

If the politicians pooh-pooh the stock market's fall, their words will mean precisely nothing. It's invariably wrong to shrug off a wide market decline as unimportant to the whole country.

The market may well right itself, but never on the basis of bullish White House statements. Old Wall Street hands learned long ago—the hard way—that these, while sometimes temporarily welcome, have yet to stop a major decline and have often aggravated it. The politicians invariably shout "All's well! All's well!" Maybe it is. Maybe it isn't.

Politicians concern themselves with the present while the market, of course, concerns itself with the future. And to argue whether the market mirrors future business conditions or helps make them what they will become is as idle as the argument about the chicken and the egg.

The stock market is undeniably one element in the confidence factor, and the confidence factor, in turn, can be decisive in the expansion of prosperity.

Jobs, payrolls, the tax revenues on which Washington depends, debt retirement and the whole virtuous circle of expansion or the vicious circle of doubt and contraction are involved in the confidence factor.

In any case, Wall Street's old rule No. 1 is to plug your ears against anything that any President ever says—ever—about a drop in the market while he is in office.

White House reassurances can become, indeed, famous last words. Finally, when a market responds with still another cruel decline, investors all but pray that every politician throughout the land will please, please just shut up.

This is particularly pertinent today. If the decline continues Mr. Johnson is quite likely to take the market fall as a personal affront. Yet the Alice-in-Wonderland economics that he sponsors makes the problem much deeper than the clatter of tickers.

Months ago (Dec. 10, 1965), as the Dow-Jones averages approached the 1,000 level, this column asked what happens if Mr. Johnson ends up with a liquidating market on his hands.

The point made was that as the chickens of overspending for the New Frontier and "Great Society" alike, unlimited debt, bureaucratic expansionism and central rule come home to roost, coincident with the growth of the Viet Nam war, an agonizing reappraisal has long been taking place at the highest levels of business sentiment.

There's been talk of a tax increase. Yet Mr. Johnson has put no priorities whatever on his innumerable commitments against the tax take—which is already colossal. In simple truth, the incredible billions on billions that official failures, bad judgment and cover-ups across the years have cost us are—and remain—the biggest single factor in the tax load.

Is the end result moving Mr. Johnson inexorably toward a controlled, government-planned, Washington-dictated economy? Historically this is the predictable aftermath of what both President Kennedy and President Johnson called "myths" while treating our treasury like a bottomless barrel.

More government spending is certainly not the solution. If it were, all governments would establish confidence merely by announcing more government spending, and all governments would spend all countries everywhere into prosperity.

While Mr. Johnson still shuns priorities in spending our money, we face four great confrontations, and each is an unlimited commitment.

1. The merciless certainty that the Sino-Soviet menace will continue, along with its tremendous annual cost.

2. The long-range potential in our Southeast Asia land war.

3. The protection of the U.S. dollar in our gold crisis.

4. The potential confrontation of the business cycle. What happens if the "myth" of business cycles again proves not to be a myth at all? There are many indications of a near-terms leveling off which certainly do not forecast a depression. But, confronted by our unlimited commitments, where would an orthodox recession leave us?

Nearly everybody knows that extravagant government must end before confidence is either deserved or forthcoming. And if the stock market jolt awakens Mr. Johnson and the Congress to this glaring fact, the jolt can be a great national blessing.

Will it finally make them face realities and sober up?

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How Double-Talk Began

By MORRIE RYSKIND

If I cite the Bible now and then, it is with no pretense to any special piety. Read simply as literature, the King James version is surely English at its very best. And, like all good literature, it contains some universal truths, well worth re-reading.

Take the descendants of Noah, who, journeying eastward, found a promising plain in the land of Shinar and decided to settle down there.

Though basically an agricultural folk, they apparently adapted themselves easily to industrialization. "They had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar," and there is no record that this led to any serious economic dislocation.

Indeed, if one may judge by that wise adage, "Happy is that people whose annals are few," things went along swimmingly. Had there been wars or plagues or excessive income taxes or an unbearable national debt, Genesis would surely have mentioned it. These things have a way of getting out.

But, lo, it came to pass that some Whiz Kids came to a Town Meeting and spake thus: "Verily, ours is an affluent society on the surface, for none goes hungry. But let us face it, brothers, how often do you have pie? Thanksgiving and Christmas, maybe. Why not every day?

"The power structure tells us there is plenty of pie—and angel cake—in the sky. Why should we wait when we could have it now? Go to, and let us build us a tower whose top may reach into heaven that we may partake of the pie now reserved for the over-privileged angels! Then we can all have pie daily and be a truly 'Great Society.' Selah!"

There were some objections voiced on the ground that the proposed tower might interfere with the statutes against high-rise buildings, but these were shouted down. The bill was put into the hopper at once and passed overwhelmingly, with six progressive Republicans crossing the aisle to vote with the Democrats.

The contract went, naturally, to a stone and mortar man who had contributed heavily to the previous campaign and was a personal friend of the Whiz Kids.

The building began to rise, but—communication was a difficult thing then—the angel hierarchy knew nothing of the plan at first. But there came a time when the tower had passed its 18th story, and the sound of the hammering began to disturb the Heavenly Choir at their hootenannies. They could hardly hear themselves play the harps.

They flew an investigator down to see what was the cause of the disturbance, and his report on the earthly doings dismayed them enough to take up the matter with the Boss.

"Heavens!" said the Head Man, studying the dossier. "This is a clear violation of the covenant I made with Noah. I must teach these earth people to stop this flagrant attempt at colonialism and stick to their own territory."

"Another flood?" asked one of the seraphim.

"No," said the Chief. "I promised Noah, if you remember, that there'd be no more floods. Wait a minute—I've got it. I'll give them the confusion of tongues." And He confounded the language of the people of Shinar, so that they could no longer understand one another's speech.

You know the rest. That was the end of the Tower of Babel—and should have been the end of the dream of getting pie you hadn't earned. But, alas, double-talk is still with us, and there are politicos who have mastered it and turned it into a fine art.

How else do you account for the fact that the spendingest President in our history turns out a few lights in the White House and advises the housewife to buy cheaper cuts even as he unfolds plans to spend additional billions?

Or that England explains that she has no authority to prevent her nationals from trading with Hanoi, even as British warships seize a Greek tanker carrying oil to Rhodesia?

Or that we back Great Britain and boycott Rhodesia, though that latter country isn't supplying our enemy?

There may be a better explanation of these and a thousand other contradictions. But until somebody comes along with it, I'm sticking to Genesis, 11.

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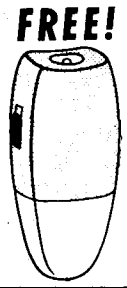

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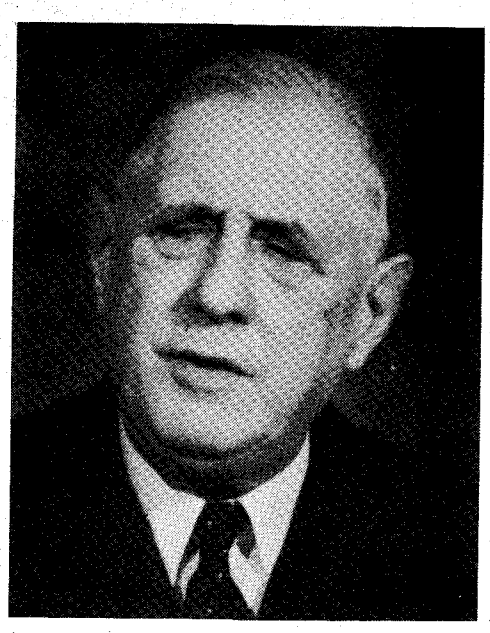

For an American senator, Frank Church (D.-Idaho), left, has some very flabby ideas about problems such as France's de Gaulle.

Watch Out for Slanted Hearings On Problems in Western Europe

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

Given control of his staff and his pick of witnesses, any committee chairman can pretty well dramatize his own opinions on the given subject.

This is what we must expect, I think, of Sen. Frank Church (D.-Idaho) who will soon conduct Foreign Relations hearings on West Europe. We will hear his witnesses on de Gaulle, on NATO, on German ambitions for reunification and on the American nuclear "shield" which has for 20 years protected West Europe from a Russian invasion.

What should bother the American public is not that Sen. Church has strong ideas (he doesn't), but that he has a very flabby set of attitudes for an American statesman. We have a right to expect in our statesmen, I believe, a strong bias for our own positions, a built-in credo that this country is right, until proved wrong, and that countries which oppose us in diplomacy or war are probably wrong.

I see no reason why a man who is elected by American votes, and paid from the public treasury, should be overly objective, or unprejudiced, or neutralistic toward our critics—and I'm sorry to say that Frank Church projects all these impressions.

The American public, soon to be sitting in on his West Europe hearings, is likely to be subjected to ideas which Church has already expressed in his writings, speeches and press conferences —and these ideas will not be helpful to the American task in Europe and elsewhere. The Idaho senator spent two weeks in Europe during May, preparing himself to conduct the hearings that fall in June. He interviewed all the European leaders and some of the opinion makers there, and what he brought back was a mild guilt complex about his own country's actions and positions in Europe.

For example, he seems to have adopted the condescending notion expressed by Europeans that the United States is "unattuned" to present conditions in Europe and the world. He appears to agree with those who demand "less dogmatism" by us, "less insistence on American solutions" and "certain relaxation of pressures."

All this is to say, if I understand it, that we should go on supplying men and money, but should get over the idea that this entitles us to insist on "solutions" and to exert "pressures."

A different man than Church might have brought home a feeling that we have had too little to say, rather than too much, about matters that concern our relations with Europe. We have been the opposite of "insistent" about the steel facility which West Germany has agreed to finance in Red China, about continued British trading with North Viet Nam, and about the indifference and antipathy of our NATO partners to the limited wars we've had to undertake against the common enemy.

The guilt complex in American statesmen, of course, is not a new story, but surely it ought to be a stale and rejected one by now. The uses to which we have put our power and wealth since entering World War II and since rebuilding half the world, don't require any apology, and yet Church has seemed to apologize in the message he brought back from Europe. He appears to sympathize with the envy of Europeans who, he writes, "are uneasy about the magnetic attraction of a voracious American economy . . . and the widening American technological superiority. . . ."

An American statesman should be proud of our "superiority" and resentful of adjectives like "voracious," that are used by our critics. We had better watch out that Sen. Church doesn't use these hearings to put his own country on trial before the peevish and jealous complaints of other nations.

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

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"MASSIVE VICTORY"—Dr. Gaylord B. Parkinson, who heads up the National Republican State Chairmen's Association, says the GOP is headed toward "a massive victory" in November. Parkinson, the California state chairman, based his forecast on reports from GOP chairmen in all 50 states. Referring to his home state, he said that either Ronald Reagan or George Christopher could defeat Gov. Pat Brown. He predicted the defection of millions of conservative and moderate Democrats in November.

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PTARMIGAN STUDIES—The Budget Bureau should immediately curb federal spending on scientific projects now carried out in foreign countries, the House Government Operations Committee has declared. Not only do the studies contribute adversely to the balance of payments, but the projects are of highly questionable value. For instance, the National Science Foundation granted $32,900 to an Iceland museum to study "the cyclic buildup and decline in the natural population of the ptarmigan, or northern grouse."

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NO INHIBITIONS—"The 'Great Society' thinks you can't have a government for the people unless you have a government *buy* the people."—Sen. Peter Dominick (R.-Colo.).

Elections Causing Delay

Wage-Price Controls Come Closer

By DONALD I. ROGERS

There can be little doubt remaining that President Johnson fully intends to impose complete wartime economic controls upon the nation, particularly in the twin fields of wages and credit as well as on profits and raw materials.

The elevation to full power of Robert Kintner as head of the Office of Defense Resources gives indication of the President's anxiety to get under way with severe restrictions on the economy. He is using as his authority to do this the presidential emergency powers which were granted during the Korean War, and through negligence or oversight were not rescinded at the end of that war.

The President maintains that escalation of the war in Viet Nam will require such all-out controls. Mr. Kintner, former president of NBC, as a seasoned administrator, is prepared to impose a full wartime economic program.

The Viet Nam war is untidy at best. It has never been officially declared by Congress as required by the Constitution nor satisfactorily explained to the public, much less to members of Congress. It if results in the creation of a wartime economy at home, certainly it is no "little" war which does not require the full supervision of our entire legislative body.

The truth is that President Johnson's domestic programs are being severely bungled to the extent that inflation is rampant. Even though it is bulwarked by the healthiest economy in mankind's history, the stock market is more skittish than at any time since the 1929 crash.

If President Johnson deems that wartime economic controls are necessary, he should be required by Congress to demonstrate that he has done everything in his power to cut domestic spending wherever possible. Only then should the American public permit itself to be totally mobilized by the government.

In showing his tentative program to members of Congress and Cabinet officials, Mr. Kintner has made it clear that mobilization of the entire economy is being sought. It is said in Washington that the President hopes to delay creation of an economy czar until after the congressional elections in the fall.

Why shouldn't he be made accountable for those plans before the elections so that the opposition party could demand full disclosure? Voters might wish to express themselves at the polls.

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SORRY 'BOUT THAT — Rep. Richard H. Poff (R.-Va.) recently received the following letter: "In connection with your letter requesting exhibits for display at the annual Nelson County Day celebration on May 14, we regret to inform you that we are unable to schedule the 'Smokey Bear and Friends' exhibit for you since it was destroyed by fire at the Tennessee State Fair last fall.—Sincerely yours, Chief, Exhibits Branch, U.S. Department of Agriculture"

□ □ □

IT WON'T BE LONG—"The way restaurant prices are going up it won't be long before the $100-a-plate dinner sounds reasonable." — From *Changing Times*.

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

Buying Votes

By SEN. JOHN WILLIAMS (R.-Del.)

Never in our history has there been so much distrust by the American people of their own leaders in government. Any Administration controlling the expenditures of over $100 billion annually can wield a tremendous power over American industry and lives of all citizens, and when we consider that the Defense Department alone spends over $50 billion annually—80 per cent of which is spent under negotiated contracts—you can see the potential abuse of power. Most of our major corporations are engaged in some type of defense work and with the secretary of defense having the power to negotiate, or to refuse to negotiate contracts with a particular company, or the power to assign contracts to a particular state it in effect gives him and the Administration he serves life and death control over an industry or an area.

This has reached the point where now candidates on the Democratic ticket openly boast to their constituents that if elected their close association with the Administration will get more contracts for the state than would be possible if a member of the minority were elected. This is political blackmail. In effect it is reducing congressional representatives to bagmen, and if their claim is true it means that the secretary of defense is not only acting improperly in assigning these contracts but he is in actual violation of the law. The law specifically provides that all government contracts are to be awarded to the lowest responsible bidder.

U.N. Mystery

By REP. ALBERT WATSON (R.-S.C.)

It is beyond the comprehension of the American citizen that we would continue to foot almost one-half of the bill for the operation of the United Nations, while the member countries insult our friends and ignore our best interests. The American people are demanding to know why the Administration joins the British in boycotting little Rhodesia, while the British repeatedly ignore our pleas to stop trading with North Viet Nam and other Communist countries. It is ironic that we are indifferent, even hostile, toward Rhodesia, which wants to help us in Viet Nam, while we continue to court some of those countries which are undermining our war efforts in Southeast Asia.

Facing Our Adversary

By SEN. JAMES B. PEARSON (R.-Kan.)

All over the world, we face our adversary—on the economic front of world trade, on the psychological front of world opinion, in diplomatic maneuvers, in guerrilla warfare, in brushfire conflicts, in civil wars, in nuclear war showdowns. To meet this threat which appears in so many forms in every part of the world at different times, we need great strength, flexibility and patience. In the area of military strength, we need "symmetry of power" at every level of military force, including conventional, nuclear or thermonuclear military capacity. Such symmetry, or the ability to meet armed forces at every level, gives us a greater number of options than a choice between thermonuclear war and surrender. In the area of economic strength, we need a vibrant, stable and sound economy of great industrial capacity and the widest possible research and development programs. But, most important of all, we need a well-informed, tough-minded people who have faith in our institutions and a patience born of courage.

Teacher Shortage

By REP. RALPH HARVEY (R.-Ind.)

The advent of the Teacher Corps, part of the Administration's "War on Poverty," presages a greater shortage of teachers than at present. The supply of qualified teachers in some fields is already a critical problem for many communities. With the local offices of the U. S. Employment Service recruiting teachers for the federal corps, local communities will face some difficult moments ahead. The federal government will finance special summer training for teachers who are signed up in the program, then their salaries will be subsidized by Uncle Sam in the "pockets of poverty" to which they are assigned this fall. When Uncle Sam competes with local communities for personnel, the greater amount of money available to the federal government makes it practically no contest, and local schools lose out in the obviously unequal competition.

The Johnson Hour

By REP. LESLIE ARENDS (R.-Ill.)

Recently the White House invited us to witness the signing of the bill granting certain authority to the Interstate Commerce Commission toward alleviating the boxcar shortage (S.1098). This is a measure in which we have long been interested. And, of course, we were delighted to be invited to the official signing ceremonies. There were at least 150 in attendance: 40 to 50 from the Congress, House and Senate, members of the Interstate Commerce Commission, indirectly interested in the new boxcar legislation. But what took place turned out to be considerably more than the signing of the bill, appropriate remarks concerning it and the distribution of pens used in the signing. President Johnson made a lengthy political speech on the "great accomplishments" and "worthy goals" of his Administration. For a moment we wondered if we were at a political rally or a bill signing ceremony. Maybe the President himself is becoming a "Nervous Nellie" from reading the political polls indicating a sharp decline in his popularity.

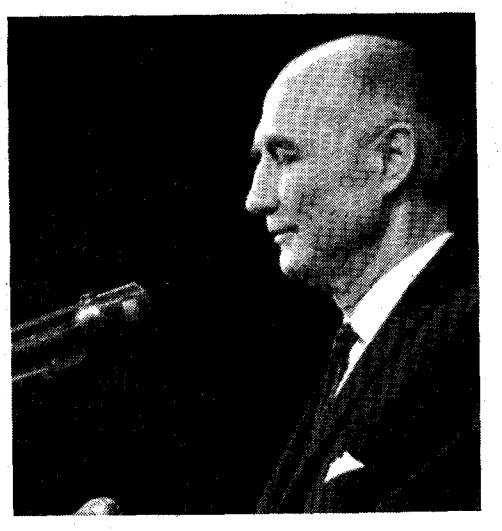
Minimum Wage

By REP. ODIN LANGEN (R.-Minn.)

With American agriculture already in trouble, it is inconceivable that Congress could add to the farmer's dilemma by increasing his costs and decreasing his net profit, further accelerating movement off the farm. Inclusion of agricultural workers under minimum wage laws is not based on the practical conditions that exist in farming. It would also take a whole army of investigators to enforce such a law on our farms, and if there is one thing the farmer does not need, it is another federal snooper spying on him. What he really needs is greater income, not another device to hold his income down.

Nuclear Genie Can't Be Re-Bottled

By SEN. STROM THURMOND (R.-S. C.)



Sen. Thurmond

When the 18-nation disarmament conference reconvenes in Geneva on June 14, the foremost item on the agenda will be, as it has been for the past year, consideration of a treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. In anticipation of resumption of negotiations, the Senate on May 14 passed a resolution by a vote of 84 to 0 commending the President's efforts to achieve an effective treaty controlling the spread of nuclear weapons.

The dangers of nuclear weapon proliferation are of such magnitude that all possible remedies should be explored, however remote. That, of course, is what the precise potential of a non-proliferation treaty is —remote.

Since 1945, when the United States detonated the first nuclear weapon, the number of nations to demonstrate a capability of manufacturing nuclear weapons has grown to five. The USSR was the second, followed by Great Britain, France and most recently, Red China.

A number of other nations have the capability to develop nuclear weapons if they are willing to devote the necessary resources to the effort, and several appear to be giving the matter serious consideration. With the passage of time, the process of manufacture becomes easier and less expensive. In India, there are growing pressures to develop a nuclear capability, and this trend is spurred on by the nuclear activities of a neighboring, and hostile, Red China, which on May 9 detonated its third nuclear device in the atmosphere. Both Indonesia and Egypt have announced interest and possible intentions to develop nuclear weapons.

Nuclear weapons are a fact in today's world. They can no more be "disinvented" than can the wheel. Neither by treaty or other means can the clock be turned back to the period when there were no nuclear weapons.

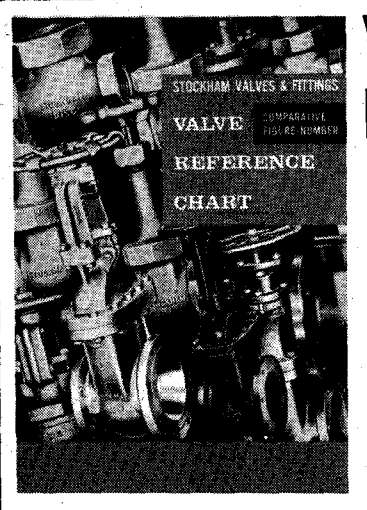
The most that could be hoped for in a non-proliferation treaty is to freeze the status quo. The non-nuclear nations, who have the capability of joining the nuclear club, are understandably unenthusiastic about renouncing their right to acquire the "equalizer" of power which nuclear weapons appear to offer.

The Soviet Union, in negotiations so far, has attempted to use the non-proliferation issue as a means for destroying multilateral defense treaties such as NATO. Under the NATO agreement, the United States has trained the armed forces of its NATO allies in the use of nuclear weapons. The United States still maintains exclusive control of the weapons, but NATO strategy calls for furnishing such weapons to our allies in the event of an attack.

Whether or not a non-proliferation treaty can be achieved, the United States should move as fast as possible to produce and deploy an effective defense against ballistic missiles. Nothing could more discourage additional nations from developing a nuclear capability than the knowledge that there existed an effective and workable defense against the most efficient method of delivery of such weapons. Indeed, the deployment of such a system by the United States, and its availability to our non-nuclear allies, would probably do far more to limit the spread of nuclear weapons than could any treaty.

NATO, already strained to the breaking point, must not be sacrificed to achieve a non-proliferation treaty. There have been recent proposals to withdraw the bulk of U.S. Army divisions from Europe, and to share, on a limited basis, tactical nuclear weapons with our European allies. Such a course should not be precluded by a precipitate treaty.

In the final analysis, a non-proliferation treaty is comparable to the proverbial pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. There is no harm in investigating the possibilities, provided we do not stop work and place all our reliance on finding it. Also, should a treaty formula be found which is agreeable to all others, it should be carefully examined to make sure that its coin is really not just "fool's gold."



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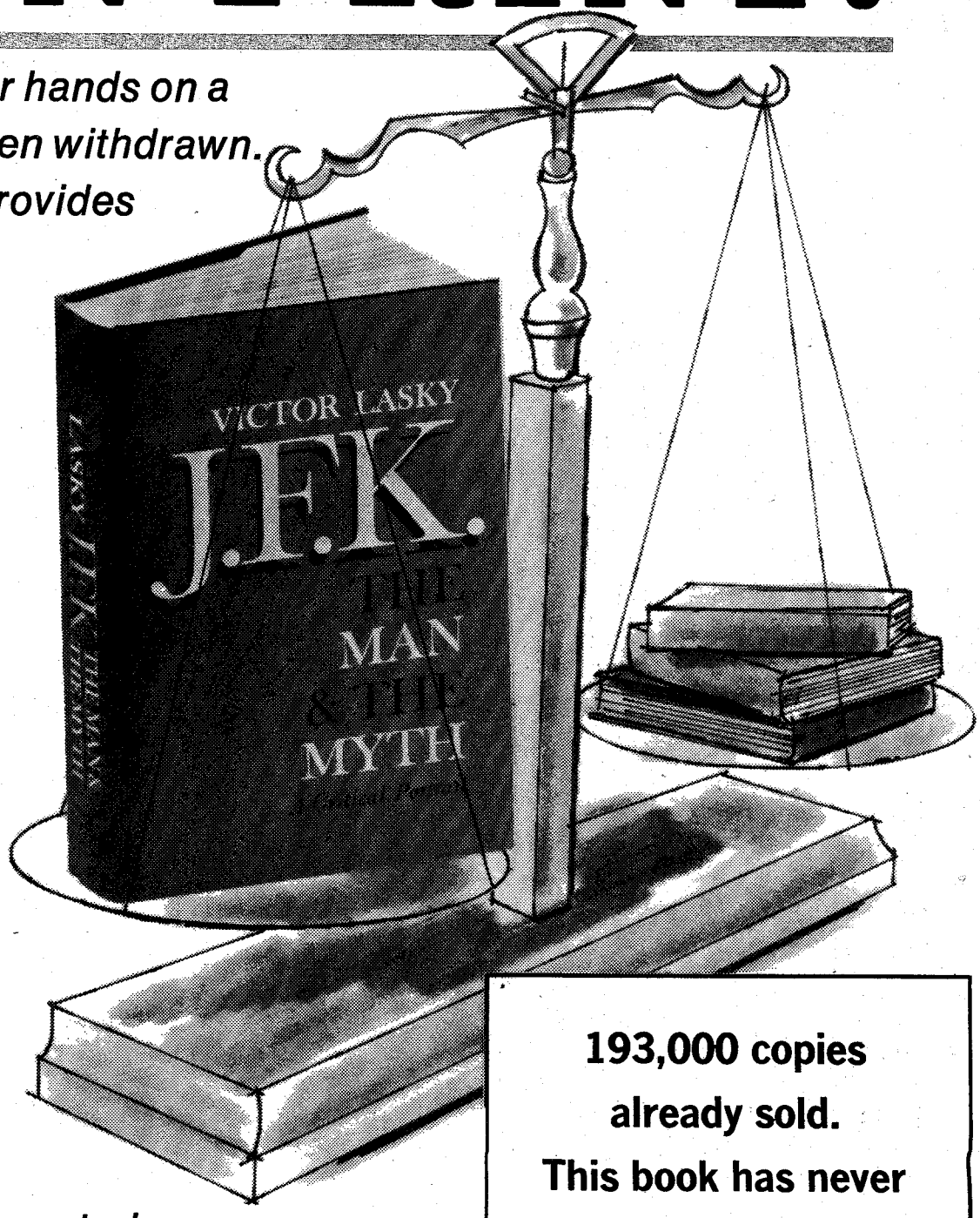

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